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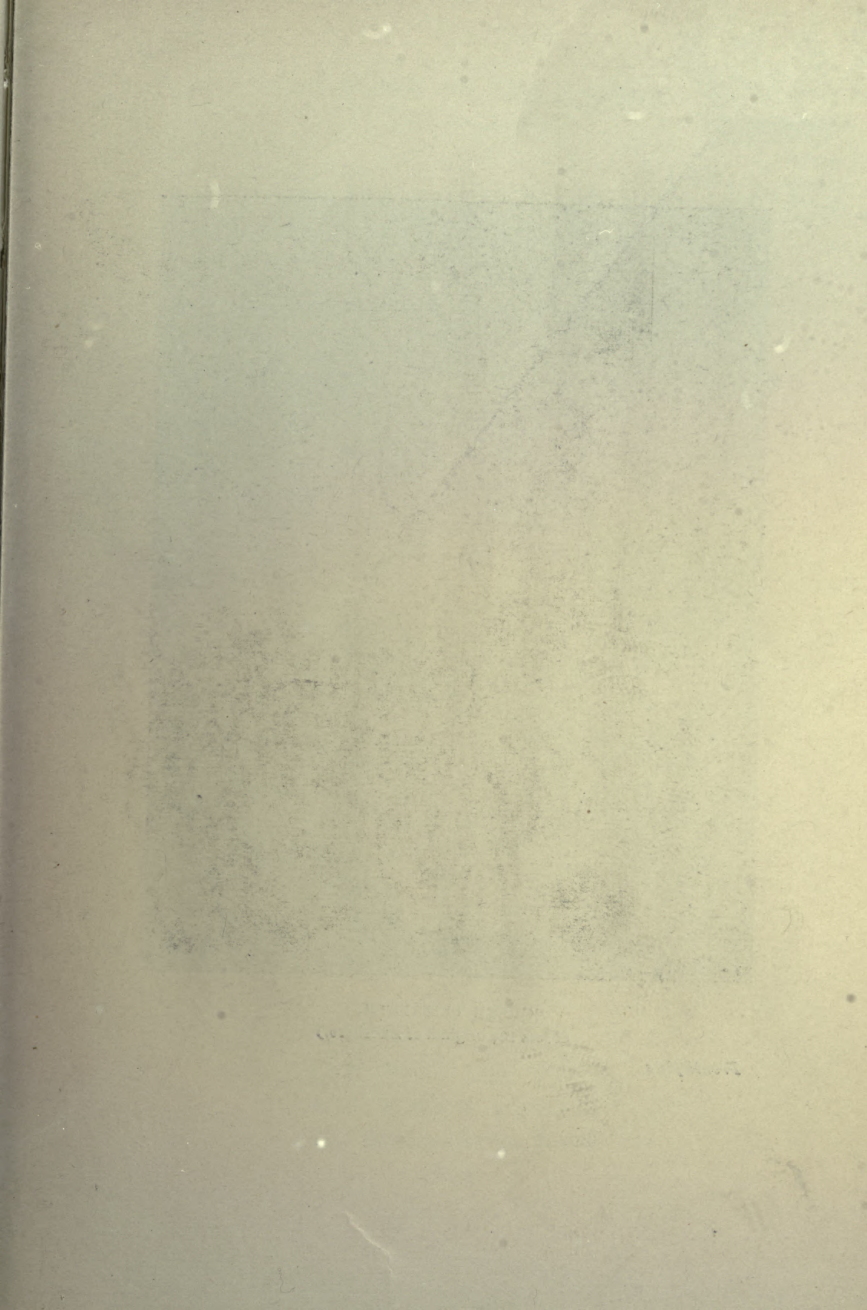


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THE BUILDING OF THE
BRITISH EMPIRE







QUEEN ELIZABETH.
(From the original of Zuccherò.)

Frontispiece

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THE STORY OF THE NATIONS

~ Story of the Nation

THE BUILDING OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

THE STORY OF ENGLAND'S GROWTH FROM
ELIZABETH TO VICTORIA

WITH UPWARDS OF ONE HUNDRED PORTRAITS AND
ILLUSTRATIONS FROM CONTEMPORARY PRINTS

BY

ALFRED THOMAS STORY

AUTHOR OF "THE LIFE OF JOHN LINNELL," "WILLIAM BLAKE: HIS LIFE
GENIUS, AND WORKS," "A BOOK OF VAGROM MEN," ETC.



IN TWO PARTS



1558-1688

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS
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PREFACE.

IN writing a book like the present, one is so overwhelmed with the wealth of material that it is difficult at times to know what to put in and what to leave out; conscious, too, it may be, that the selected incident or event is not always the best of its kind, or that something important may have been omitted. However, in the space at my disposal, I have endeavoured faithfully to present the story of the growth and development of the Empire from the moment when England, having been finally shut off from dominion on the Continent of Europe, began gradually, and at first with indifferent success, to grasp empire beyond the wider seas, impelled mainly by the blind instinct to be doing, coupled with an indomitable energy that could not be satisfied with mere existence.

The work is not an inspiration of yesterday, but was commenced several years ago, being designed to give those who in the coming centuries will have the destinies of the Empire in their keeping—to carry on to greater issues or to mar—to give these some idea of the splendour of British achievement in the past, to show them that it was not the work

of men of exceptional gifts and high place, so much as of the common sons of common mothers, and that upon such, too, the future will depend. To do this was the aim; not to make men proud with the hectoring pride of the man with a big muscle or a great gun, but, rather, to inspire them with the chastened feeling of one on whom the gods have laid a great and a noble task.

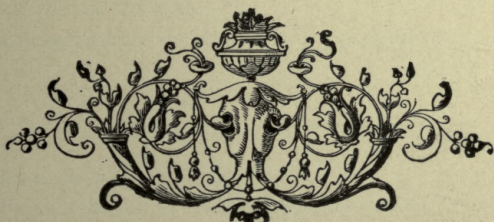
It is not long since, in a period of difficulty, when the national conscience was stirred, a statesman, deprecating the interference of the public in public affairs, expressed the wish that matters might be left to "the officials." The official is one, however, who is obliged to put his conscience in the hands of his chief, and of conscience his chief may be destitute. That was not the way the Empire was built up; neither is that the way in which it will be worthily maintained, but by the nation as a whole watching with enlightened and jealous eye to see that the best traditions of the past are observed, and, where possible, improved upon. If the book should help at all in that direction, its chief object will have been attained.

In the compilation of the work I have had recourse, as far as possible, to the best sources, and to them I am greatly indebted, as must be all who would make themselves thoroughly acquainted with events and periods on which I have been able to cast but a cursory glance in passing. In general I have named my sources; but to do so in all cases would have been to load almost every page with notes and references.

The same may be said in regard to the illustrations, which have been derived as much as possible from contemporary sources. Thus, the majority of the battle-pieces have been reproduced from prints in the British Museum, to the courteous attendants of which I am much indebted; other illustrations have been taken from books such as the *Voyages of Captain Cook*, the *Life of Sir Francis Drake*, etc. All were selected with a view to give as nearly a contemporary representation of the event or scene referred to as possible.

A. T. S.

WANBOROUGH, SURREY.





CONTENTS.

BOOK I.

THE ENGLAND OF ELIZABETH.

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. ENGLAND AS ELIZABETH FOUND IT	I
II. ENGLAND'S TRADE AND COMMERCE	22
III. SIR JOHN HAWKINS AND HIS EXPLOITS	42
IV. DRAKE'S VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD	60
V. FIRST ATTEMPTS AT COLONISATION	91
VI. THE SECOND ENGLISH CIRCUMNAVIGATION	115
VII. THE ARMADA	128
VIII. AFTER THE ARMADA	161
IX. ESTABLISHMENT OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY	190

BOOK II.

LAYING THE FOUNDATIONS.

I. ENGLAND'S FIRST COLONY	212
II. FIRST FOOTING OF THE ENGLISH IN INDIA	232
III. FIRST SETTLEMENT OF NEW ENGLAND	256
IV. THE COLONY OF MASSACHUSETTS	278
V. COLONISATION IN THE WEST INDIES	297
VI. PROGRESS OF COLONISATION IN AMERICA	318
VII. MAKING US A NATION IN INDIA	332
VIII. GROWTH UNDER THE STUARTS	358



ILLUSTRATIONS.

	PAGE
QUEEN ELIZABETH	Frontispiece
<i>From the original of Zuccherò.</i>	
THE SURRENDER OF CALAIS TO KING EDWARD III. .	3
SEBASTIAN CABOT	5
QUEEN MARY	13
PHILIP II. OF SPAIN	23
PROBABLY THE "GREAT HARRY"	29
<i>Pepysian Library, Cambridge.</i>	
THE "HENRI GRACE À DIEU"	31
<i>From the painting by Holbein.</i>	
SIR JOHN HAWKINS	45
SIR FRANCIS DRAKE	63
DRAKE GOING TO SEA ON A RAFT IN SEARCH OF HIS PINNACES	69
MARTIN FROBISHER	73
QUEEN ELIZABETH KNIGHTING DRAKE ON BOARD THE "GOLDEN HIND" AT DEPTFORD, APRIL 4, 1581	91
<i>From a drawing by Sir John Gilbert, R.A.</i>	
SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT	95

	PAGE
ENTRANCE TO THE HARBOUR OF ST. JOHN'S, NEW- FOUNDLAND	99
<i>Redrawn from "The British Naval Chronicle," 1802.</i>	
SIR WALTER RALEIGH	103
SIR PHILIP SYDNEY	105
<i>From an engraving by H. Robinson, of Zuccherò's Por- trait at Penhurst.</i>	
ST. KITTS, WEST INDIES	109
<i>Redrawn from "The British Naval Chronicle," 1803.</i>	
DAVIS'S QUADRANT	112
SIR THOMAS CAVENDISH	124
A SHOOTING-MATCH BY THE LONDON ARCHERS IN THE TIME OF QUEEN ELIZABETH	135
<i>From an old print.</i>	
ATTACK ON THE ARMADA IN THE CHANNEL	143
<i>From a Dutch print.</i>	
LORD HOWARD OF EFFINGHAM	145
THE DEFEAT OF THE SPANISH ARMADA, 1588.	157
<i>From a painting by P. J. De Loutherbourg, R.A.</i>	
SIR RICHARD GRENVILLE	168
THE EARL OF ESSEX	173
THE TAKING OF CADIZ IN 1696	175
<i>From an old French print.</i>	
INDIAN VILLAGE	179
<i>From a drawing of the print in Harriot's "Relation."</i>	
MAP OF VIRGINIA	182
<i>From Harriot's "Relation."</i>	
SIR WALTER RALEIGH'S CONQUEST OF THE CITY OF ST. JOSEPH IN THE ISLAND OF TRINIDAD	185

	PAGE
SIR THOMAS GRESHAM'S EXCHANGE	201
<i>From a print in the Guildhall Library.</i>	
LORD BURLEIGH	206
LORD WALSINGHAM	209
SIGNATURE OF ELIZABETH	211
<i>Harleian MS., No. 285.</i>	
CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH	219
INDIAN ENCAMPMENT	225
SHIP OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY	231
<i>From a contemporary print.</i>	
THE GULF OF ST. LAWRENCE	233
CHAMPLAIN KILLING TWO CHIEFS AND WOUNDING A THIRD WITH ONE SHOT	239
<i>From "Les Voyages du Sieur de Champlain."</i>	
BATTLE WITH THE IROQUOIS	241
<i>From "Les Voyages du Sieur de Champlain."</i>	
DEPARTURE OF THE PILGRIM FATHERS FROM DELFT HAVEN, JULY, 1620	261
<i>From the fresco by C. W. Cope, R.A., in the new palace of Westminster.</i>	
GEORGE CALVERT, FIRST LORD BALTIMORE	270
<i>From the original picture at Gorhambury.</i>	
MAP OF ENGLISH COLONIES IN AMERICA	275
ROGER WILLIAMS RECEIVED BY THE INDIANS	293
WINDWARD AND LEEWARD ISLANDS	298
LORD WILLOUGHBY OF PARHAM	303
BAHAMA ISLANDS	306
PORT ROYAL, JAMAICA	315
<i>From an old print.</i>	

	PAGE
NEW AMSTERDAM AS IT APPEARED ABOUT THE YEAR	
1640	325
<i>From "Historic New York."</i>	
WILLIAM PENN	328
DEFEAT OF THE DUTCH BY ADMIRAL BLAKE, 1653 .	335
<i>From an old print.</i>	
ADMIRAL VAN TROMP	337
GENERAL GEORGE MONK	340
ADMIRAL BLAKE	342
ADMIRAL DE RUYTER	346
ENGAGEMENT BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND DUTCH	
FLEETS, OFF THE NORTH FORELAND, SEPTEMBER	
28, 1652	349
<i>From an engraving by J. Pass.</i>	
THE DUTCH FLEET IN THE MEDWAY	351
<i>Redrawn from an old woodcut.</i>	
THE REV. INCREASE MATHER	367
JAMES II.	379
SEAL OF THE DUKE OF YORK (JAMES II) AS ADMIRAL	
OF THE FLEET	381



THE BUILDING OF THE
BRITISH EMPIRE



THE BUILDING OF THE EMPIRE.

BOOK I.

THE ENGLAND OF ELIZABETH.

CHAPTER I.

ENGLAND AS ELIZABETH FOUND IT.

THE building of the British Empire may be said to have begun with the ascent of Queen Elizabeth to the throne. Although up to that time the English had done a vast deal of fighting, it had been to little purpose save the shedding of oceans of blood and the squandering of incalculable treasure—added, perhaps, to the keeping of the Englishman's hand in as a fighting animal. Never since the Norman Conquest had England counted so small a territory, never were her fortunes at so low an ebb, as when, in the year 1558, the last of the Tudors assumed the reins of power.

For five centuries English sovereigns had held some portion of the soil of France as their inheritance. It had for a hundred years been a diminished and diminishing possession, but it was nevertheless a real and substantial one until the reign of Elizabeth's predecessor, when England's last foothold on the Continent was wrested from her.

In the loss of Calais, Mary mourned "the chief jewel of her realm"; but in truth it may be likened to one of those unlucky family heirlooms which, though regarded as bringing misfortune at every turn, are yet preserved with the utmost piety and care, and only relinquished with a sigh of relief when finally and irretrievably lost.

With the severance of our last hold on any portion of French soil the real and solid fortunes of England had in truth their beginning. It was as though Providence had marked out a career for the people of these islands, and, knowing how much unity of purpose and strength of character it would require to carry it out successfully, had ordained that in preparation for the battle and the race England must strip her of everything that might prove a burden or a hindrance during the contest. In other words, it was necessary that she should become thoroughly welded together and solidified into one people. This process had been going on for many generations; but it required the danger and stress of circumstances in which the country found itself in the earlier part of Elizabeth's reign to complete the operation.

The position of affairs in the country when, at the



age of twenty-five, Elizabeth began her reign was such as to call for all the best and noblest qualities of the English people, if a general collapse was to be prevented. Indeed, such was the state of the country and the condition of the people that many despaired of a remedy. A contemporary description of how matters stood, states that not only was the realm exhausted and the nobility poor and decayed, but the common people had fallen into a state of such disorder that the villages and towns were thronged with idle tramps and vagabonds, and the roads with highwaymen. This state of things was brought about in part by the dearness of the necessities of life, but still more by the changed condition of society. The old order had changed, and the new had not yet risen to take its place. This was not merely the case in England, but in most of the countries of Europe also. In England, however, religious difficulties had contributed in no small degree to the general chaos.

With the dissolution of the monasteries and the disappearance of the old nobility, consequent upon the Wars of the Roses, a great change had taken place in the relations of the rich and the poor; large numbers of smaller tenants had been evicted, and had gone to swell the ranks of those who were seeking employment in trade or adventure, while a new race of men had come into existence on the ruins of the religious houses, whose only thought was for making money and founding families.

Then the conditions of trade had changed. From the time of the first Tudor, Englishmen had been

turning their attention more and more to commerce. Henry VII. was still in the early years of his reign when the tidings of the discovery of America sent a thrill of astonishment through the Old World. This event led to the first of a long catalogue of expeditions of exploration and adventure which, during the subsequent four centuries, sailed from these shores and glorified the annals of our country. This was the voyage of the Cabots, resulting in the discovery of the mainland of America.



SEBASTIAN CABOT.

England at this time contained many foreigners, among whom was a Venetian, "a very good mariner,"¹ named John Cabot, and his three sons, Lewis, Sebastian, and Sanctus. Of these Sebastian is the only one who has left a name. He was born

¹ Letter of the Venetian Envoy, 1497.

at Bristol,¹ and is supposed to have been twenty-one years of age before the discovery of America, though no exact record of the date of his birth has been preserved. When he was four years old his father took him to Italy, where the family remained some years, and then returned to England, "to follow the trade of merchandise."

Sebastian, a born seaman, devoted himself to the theory of navigation, and was, according to his own account, so fired by the tidings of the discovery of the New World that he became possessed of the ambition to emulate the doings of Columbus. In his own words, "It seemed a thyng more divine than human, and when I heard, there increased in my hearte a greate flame of desyre to attempt some notable thyng." This "notable thyng" was the first expedition to discover a north-west passage to India. Columbus thought that he had reached India by the tropical seas, but Sebastian Cabot perceived that to sail by the pole would be a much nearer way if it could be accomplished. His father, entering into his views, and representing the same to Henry VII., was granted a charter² to pursue the discovery, and in May, 1497, he and his sons sailed from Bristol in the *Matthew*. Such is the account, as assiduously set forth in after years by Sebastian Cabot, who thus tried to get credit for his father's work, and for a time succeeded. But from documents unearthed amongst the Venetian archives it is

¹ "Sebastian Cabot told me he was an Englishman" (Richard Eden).

² Rymer's *Fœdera*.

proved beyond doubt that it was John Cabot who first "lighted English navigation across the Atlantic."¹

We have no record of the adventures met with during the voyage; but as they approached the frozen regions icebergs impeded the ships, and shoals of codfish crowded round them. On the 24th of June they made their first landfall, but whether the land first seen was Cape Breton, Newfoundland, or the coast of Labrador, is open to question, though the latter is held to be the most probable by some of those who have given the subject most careful consideration.

It was a dreary region, as different from the sunny land that greeted the eyes of Columbus and his companions as can well be imagined. No bright birds, sweet-smelling flowers, and gay butterflies filled the air with songs and incense and glowing colours of every shade and hue. But instead came "monstrous heaps of ice swimming in the sea, and in maner perpetual daylight." Huge fishes, called baccalaos, sported their vast bulk around the ships, white bears plunged with sullen sound in search of their prey, gigantic deer lifted their branching antlers high in air, and the savage hawk and sable eagle screamed far above them and afforded food to the skin-clad inhabitants of this frozen land, who wandered about and shot arrows with deadly aim. The natives were naturally as pale as the Europeans, but spoiled their complexions by paint. The skins of deer afforded them a warm covering, and the hard

¹ Introduction to the *Journal of Columbus*.

ground soon taught them the use of leather shoes, which are said to have been well made and comfortable. They lived on the flesh of deer, wild fowl, and fish, especially mackerel, salmon, and cod, with millet-bread, water, milk, and quantities of seal oil. They had no regular dwelling, but wandered about from place to place in search of food, carrying with them their boats and tents, and their children wrapped in furs.¹

Having noted these things, the Cabots departed, and discovered an island, which they named St. John, and which was probably the same which we now call Newfoundland. They next sailed as far as the continent, which they believed to be the territory of the Grand Cham, and coasting for three hundred leagues, they landed. No human beings appeared, but some felled trees, some snares for game, and a needle for making nets, told that the land was inhabited. The two last John Cabot brought as trophies to the King, and, provisions falling short, he now returned after a voyage of three months.²

The King received him with great honour, promising that in the spring he should have ten armed ships. With wonderful liberality for Henry VII., the King also gave Cabot "money wherewith to amuse himself"; and accordingly he returned to his old habitation at Bristol with his wife and sons, dressed in silk, and was so admired by the common people as to be styled "the great Admiral." Sebastian Cabot made several other voyages to the

¹ Peter Martyr, Decade 3, vol. vi.

² Letter of the Venetian Envoy.

mainland of America, and we have his map, drawn in 1544, of the discoveries of his father.

Nothing directly came of this discovery of the American continent; indirectly, however, Cabot's voyage led ere long to important results in regard to the fishing industry, although England does not appear to have benefited from it to the same extent as the Spanish, French, and Portuguese, for, while in 1577 those three nations had, according to Hakluyt, three hundred vessels engaged in the Newfoundland fisheries, England was represented by but fifteen. He adds, however, that our ships were the best, and protected the others from pirates. But English fishermen appear to have divided their attention between the Newfoundland cod-fishery and the Iceland whale-fishing; the Biscayans, at the close of Elizabeth's reign, finding the English keen rivals in the latter trade, of which formerly they had enjoyed almost a monopoly.

Another event that had contributed greatly to the spirit of adventure, which for some time had laid hold of the western nations, was the conquest of the eastern shores of the Mediterranean by the Turks, who had taken Constantinople in 1453. Their cruelty and extortion prevented merchants from following the nearer overland route to India. This forced traders to seek for a way to India by sea, and it was in pursuit of this object that the voyage of Columbus was made. This, also, was the inciting motive of the voyage of Vasco de Gama, who, sailing from Lisbon in 1497, doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and made his way to India by sea.

Thus it was that physical causes, as well as the breaking away from religious bondage, contributed towards the re-awakening that appeared to be everywhere taking place. To cope with this new state of things the old trade-guilds were found too narrow and conservative in their notions and methods, and enterprising merchants, breaking the bonds of old use and wont, were forming companies to open up business in every possible direction. Their ships visited every port in the Mediterranean from the Strait to Syria; they traded with the Hanseatic towns of the Baltic; their expeditions went annually to the African coast; and they were ever on the look-out for new worlds of trade and adventure to conquer.

The first company of the kind was chartered by Henry VII. in 1504. It was called the company of Merchant Adventurers of London, and furnished a model for the Russia Company, and for many others of the kind, including that which eventually monopolised the commerce of the Indies. They were not joint-stock affairs, but simply "associations of merchants, each of whom might trade with his own capital, and at his own risk, provided he was a member of the company and conformed to its rules."

It was not with entire satisfaction that Elizabeth and her ministers watched the social change which the new spirit of trade and adventure was producing around them. They were afraid the increasing wealth of the people would prove detrimental to their hardihood. From India and Persia, from the islands of the Indian Seas, from the Far North, as well as from the New World of the west, luxuries

unknown to their forefathers were being imported, and in these the elder generation of Englishmen saw nothing but ruin to the national character. It was noticed that fresh meat had largely taken the place of the salt fish which had formerly constituted a large proportion of the food of the commoner sort.

The doing away with religious restrictions in regard to what was eaten by the growth of Protestantism was to some extent accountable for the change. But in truth this was only one of the many signs of the revolution which was passing over England, and indeed over the world generally, of which the religious change was only a single though a significant feature. Nor did it help matters for Cecil to bring in a bill to make the eating of fish compulsory on certain days. It was like trying to check the flood-tide with a barrier of ropes.

The intellectual new-birth which had been brought about by the revival of learning, had begun to have its kindling influence upon the English mind in Henry VII.'s reign. It spread from Italy, which was then the most learned and civilised country in Europe, and a great stimulus had been added to it by the study of the Greek and Roman writers, while the invention of printing by Gutenberg (in 1442) had helped the movement along by bringing books in nearer touch with the many. Nor must we forget, as one of the leavening influences, the wide dissemination of the truths of the new astronomy, which had in literal fact opened out to the ken of man a new heaven and a new earth.¹

¹ Froude, *History of England*.

A powerful impetus had thus been given to the human spirit, which other noteworthy events had helped to awaken from the lethargy and bondage of the middle ages. Amongst them may be reckoned the invention of gunpowder, which, coming into use about the middle of the fourteenth century, had wrought an important change in the art of war, had destroyed the power and prestige of the old armour-clad knight, and indeed was rapidly changing the whole paraphernalia of war.

The effect of the re-awakening had been to knock on the head a thousand superstitions, and to free the human mind from a weight of ignorance that had held it down for centuries. The revulsion from such a state of things had the natural effect of carrying men from freedom to licence. Old customs and old restraints—the just and legitimate as well as the unreasonable ones—were so broken up and disregarded that it seemed to many as though the very foundations of society had been undermined, and were steadily crumbling away. And, in very truth, the condition of things social had become so molten and fluid that no man knew into what shape they might presently fall.

Such was the state of things when the new queen came to the throne, and certainly in the history of the country the outlook had never been less bright. He must have been a sanguine man indeed who could have seen much in the “manifest destiny” of Elizabeth’s people at that time.

They comprised the population of England, and a small portion of Ireland. Scotland, though fre-



quently overrun and for a time held by the English, was at the time independent, and in close alliance with France, through the marriage of its queen, Mary Stuart, with the Dauphin; whilst, as regards the sister isle, though English kings and English arms had harried and desolated it time out of mind, the queen's writ would not run beyond the Pale; Ulster, Munster, and Connaught being still largely under the rule of local chieftains.

In brief, Elizabeth could count as her subjects some five or six millions of people—a people for the most part coarse, brutal, and illiterate, but, at the same time, as we shall see, possessed of many sterling qualities, and, in the process of being hammered into shape, throwing off some scintillations of genius that have never since been surpassed.

But not only was Elizabeth called upon to take the helm of a country which had been recently curtailed in its limits and resources, but she found it humiliated by defeat, and brought to the verge of rebellion by the bloodshed and misgovernment of Mary's reign. The prospect before her, therefore, was anything but reassuring.

While, abroad, Elizabeth could count hardly a single ally upon whom she might depend, at home there was a still greater difficulty to be faced in the open hostility of her Protestant and Catholic subjects. In the presence of all these dangers the country appeared perfectly helpless—without army, but with the shadow of a fleet, and that without the means to man it; for the treasury, already drained by the waste of Edward VI.'s reign, had

been utterly exhausted by Mary's restoration to the clergy of the Church lands in possession of the Crown, and by the cost of the war with France into which she had allowed the country to be dragged by her husband, Philip of Spain.¹

Difficulties such as these would have daunted anyone possessed of less strength of character than Elizabeth. But she appears to have had confidence alike in herself and in the destiny of the people over whom she was called to rule. Anyway, she had the resolution to hold on to and make the best of that which she had.

Loving her subjects before everything else in the world save herself, and ready to do anything for their sake, as they soon perceived, it was not long before a perfect understanding was arrived at between sovereign and people, and from that time to the end of her reign, whether in good or evil fortune, Elizabeth remained loyal to them, as they, in the aggregate, continued faithful to her. Though not by any means an ideal sovereign, Elizabeth was well suited to the people over whom she held sway. Brave, frank, and outspoken, fond of display, addicted to all the foibles and vanities of her sex, and yet hard-headed and practical in the affairs of everyday life, she was calculated to win the affection and admiration of her subjects as well by the feminine as by the masculine qualities of her mind.

How much she ruled through affection and admiration is seen in almost every chapter of the country's annals while under her sway. Not only was a greater

¹ Green, *History of the English People*.

number of men of the highest endowments attracted to the public service during her reign than during that of any other English sovereign—save, perhaps, the one who now wears the crown—but the daughter of Anne Boleyn had the power of stimulating them to put forth the best that was in them for her sake, and for the sake of the country to which they were proud to belong. Indeed, to look back upon the forty-five years of Elizabeth's tenure of power, and count the host of men of pre-eminent ability in almost every department of life, is a sight that must always strike the beholder with amazement. But, chief of all, one is astonished at the number and the capabilities of the men of action who carried out the will of the queen, and helped to make the name of England feared and respected alike by friend and foe.

As it fell to the lot of these men to lay the foundation of the wide sovereignty of which we to-day are so justly proud, and to the preservation and still further development of which everyone entitled to the name of Briton ought to hold it his duty to contribute to his utmost, it will be necessary to pass many of them in review. But, as good captains are of no avail without good soldiers, it may be well, in the first place, to give some idea of the sort of stuff of which the ordinary rank and file of the toilers and fighters of that time were made. There is abundant material from which to build up such a picture. We know that the sturdy fellows who fought and won at Poitiers, at Sluys, as well as on many another fiercely contested field, had in no way degenerated, although the complaint of the time was that they

had forgotten the use of the long-bow, and could no longer handle the old weapons as they had formerly done; but, when the need arose, they showed that they had lost none of their ancient fighting qualities or their splendid hardihood and daring.

Froude, in his *History*, gives us many examples of this combative quality—this sheer bull-dog tenacity and love of fighting for fighting's sake, as it was exhibited in the sixteenth century. And, indeed, we can hardly turn a page of the history of those days without finding examples innumerable of the fact noted by Harrison, that “our nature is free, stout, hautie, prodigall of life and bloud.”¹

Let us take one salient example from Froude: “‘What comyn folke in all this world,’” says a state paper in 1515, “‘may compare with the comyns of England in riches, freedom, liberty, welfare, and all prosperity? What comyn folke is so mighty, so strong in the felde, as the comyns of England?’” The relative numbers of the French and English armies which fought at Cressy and Agincourt may have been exaggerated, but no allowance for exaggeration will affect the greatness of those exploits; and in stories of authentic actions under Henry VIII., where the accuracy of the account is undeniable, no disparity of force made Englishmen shrink from enemies wherever they could meet them. Again and again a few thousands of them carried dismay into the heart of France. Four hundred adventurers, vagabond apprentices from London, who formed a volunteer corps in the Calais garrison, were for years the terror of Normandy.

¹ *A Description of England.*

“ In the very frolic of conscious power they fought and plundered, without pay, without reward, except what they could win for themselves; and when they fell at last, they fell only when surrounded by six times their number, and were cut to pieces in careless desperation. Invariably, by friend and enemy alike, the English are described as the fiercest people in all Europe (the English wild beasts, Benevenuto Cellini calls them); and this great physical power they owed to the profuse abundance in which they lived, and to the soldier's training in which every man of them was bred from childhood.”

Another incident which shows at once the foolhardy way the English had of rushing into a fight, and the manner in which we were gradually drifting into that war with Spain which in the end changed the face of the world, may be quoted here: “ During the war between England and France, on the 15th of November, 1563, a fleet of eight English merchantmen, homeward bound from the Levant, were lying in the harbour of Gibraltar, when a French privateer, full of men and heavily armed, came in and anchored within speaking distance of them. The sailors on both sides were amusing themselves with exchanging the usual discourtesies in word and gesture, when the vicar of the Holy Office, with a boat-load of priests, came off to the Frenchman; and whether it was the presence of their natural foe excited the English, or that they did not know what the black figures were, and intended merely to make a prize of an enemy's vessel, three or four of the ships slipped their cables, opened fire, and attempted to run the Frenchman down.

“ The Spaniards, indignant at the breach of the peace of the harbour, and the insult to the Inquisition, began to fire from the castle; the holy men fled terrified; a party of English who were on shore were arrested, and the alcade sent a body of harbour police to arrest others who were hanging in their boats about the French vessel. The police, on coming up, were received with a shower of arrows, the officer in command was wounded, and they were carried off as prisoners to the English ships, where they were detained till their comrades on shore were released.

“ The next morning a second attempt to seize or sink the Frenchman was prevented by the guns of the fortress. The English had given up the game, and were sailing out of the bay, when Alvarez de Baçan happened to come round with a strong force from Cadiz. The ships, after a fruitless attempt at flight, were seized and confiscated; the ensigns were torn down and trailed reversed over the Admiral's stern; and the captains and men, two hundred and forty in all, were condemned as galley slaves.”¹

There was, of course, no excuse for these riotous proceedings in the port of a nominally friendly power, and it would seem at first sight as though the breakers of the peace were properly served. But in order to be able to comprehend the spirit that was then predominant in the minds of Englishmen, especially, perhaps, of the commoner sort, we must go back to those times, and understand not only the recent persecutions of Mary's reign, but make note, also, of the thousands of Protestant

¹ Froude, *History of England*.

refugees who had come to England to escape the persecutions of the Catholics in the Netherlands and France. The majority of these were artisans fresh from the torture-chamber and the prison, who over the loom, or at the work-bench, had recounted their sufferings and their wrongs to eager and impressionable ears in nearly every county in England, stirring up everywhere a deep-seated and even fanatical hatred of the mother of tortures and of persecution. Nor must we hide from view the fact that the English had suffered a thousand provocations in the cruelties practised upon their own countrymen by the Inquisition. In the prisons of Cadiz and other towns men had been put to the rack because they were of different religious belief to their persecutors; on the public square of Valladolid numbers had died at the stake because they refused to recant their heresy.

Englishmen would have been less than human if these things had not bred in them a burning sense of indignation and a righteous determination to wreak summary justice upon the perpetrators whenever and wherever they could get the chance. Nor was the treatment received by the riotous crews at Gibraltar calculated to do anything but deepen the already growing hatred of the English for the Spaniards. Out of the two hundred and forty captured, only eighty survived at the end of nine months to carry the tale of their sufferings to England; the rest had died of cold, hunger, and general ill-usage.

The King of Spain had been warned years before of the danger of provoking the spirit of English

sailors. He had been told that “our mariners have no want of stomach to remember a wrong offered to them”; and the sequel proved the truth of the remonstrance. The war between the two races which was presently to break out—which, indeed, in an informal way, had already begun, and was destined to become almost as inveterate as that between Rome and Carthage—had its origin very largely in these religious persecutions, although other influences were doubtless also at work—for the well of human impulse is never supplied solely from one source—amongst them being jealousy of a nation, grown fat with wealth, which yet arrogated to itself the right to exclude every other people from nearly one half the world.

Gradually, however, the quarrel widened in character, and from a war of reprisals that was neither better nor worse than half-sanctioned piracy, it developed into a struggle for naval supremacy between the two nations, which was destined not to cease until the one had its wings so clipped that it never again rose to its former height of wealth and greatness, and the other had tried and strengthened its pinions for the race which was to set it foremost among the nations of the earth, and plant its dominions on every sea.



CHAPTER II.

ENGLAND'S TRADE AND COMMERCE.

SPAIN at this time was the richest and most powerful nation in the world. In the course of a century she had attained to that proud position of pre-eminence through the wisdom of her rulers and the valour and ability of her people. Swiftly upon the uniting of the two kingdoms of Castile and Aragon, under Ferdinand and Isabella, and the conquest under their hands of the kingdom of Granada, came the discovery of America by Columbus, and the adding of a new world to their dominions. When the contest between the two countries opened, Spain arrogated to herself the possession of all the new countries situated west of the sixtieth parallel of west longitude, while Portugal laid claim to all those countries east of that parallel.¹ Over the entire continent of America, as then known, reaching from Mexico and Florida south as far as the Strait

¹ So decreed Pope Alexander VI., in 1493. Drawing a line from pole to pole, through the middle of the Atlantic and the southern continent of the New World, he bestowed all the countries that should be discovered to the west of that boundary on the King of Spain, and all those on the east on the King of Portugal.

of Magellan (excepting only Brazil), and including the islands of the West Indies, as well as all the islands of the Pacific as far as the Philippines, her sway extended. And not only this, but so jealous



PHILIP II. OF SPAIN.

was she lest any of the wealth of these vast regions should flow into other treasuries than her own, that she would fain have closed her ports to all other nations. She did everything in her power to pre-

vent a foreign foot from touching those shores, though in vain.

Against England in especial was this policy directed. The character of our people was already so well known—their daring, pertinacity, and indomitable resolution—that the Spaniards feared if we once got a foothold on the continent they would never be rid of us again.

There was, perhaps, something prophetic in this dread. A people who had shown their spirit of freedom and independence to the extent of breaking with the Pope, whose heresy had become a danger to Catholic Europe, and whose prowess on the sea was already a long-time memory, were not of the kind to be allowed to have too familiar a footing in one's preserves. English ships were now swarming everywhere; in almost every port they were to be found; and when they were not in evidence as regular traders, they were only too liable to be met with as freebooters. Moreover, Philip had abundant means of knowing what was going on in England. He saw how the nation was growing in unity and strength, notwithstanding the diversity of creeds and his attempts to breed discord; he saw, also, that its manufacturing industries were developing at a rate of speed little less than that of its commerce; and both were being developed the speedier by reason of his and his minister Alva's doings in the Netherlands. Thanks to the general insecurity of life and property in Brabant and Flanders, the manufactures which were to become so important to the national welfare had already taken root, and

were beginning to absorb numbers of the idle hands and idle brains that were a danger to the country.

Thus, in a survey of Sandwich, in 1566, the town was found to contain 120 Walloon as against 291 English householders. To these newcomers the place was indebted for the introduction of the manufacture of paper and silk. The preceding year Norwich had obtained a license—for these things could only be done by license—for the settlement in that town of natives of the Netherlands; and by 1571 no fewer than four thousand Protestant refugees had settled there, besides large numbers in other parts of Norfolk. They introduced the manufactures of “bayes, sayes, arras, mockades, and the like.”¹ As early as 1554 some foreign artisans had been engaged by the Mayor and other citizens of Norwich to teach the weavers of the town certain branches of the trade, the result being the famous Norwich satins and fustians.² Throughout the eastern counties the worsted trade was in active operation, employing thousands of hands, and helping with other industries to convert England into the busy hive which it was afterwards to become.

In 1567, Maidstone petitioned to be allowed to bring over foreign settlers, and the request being granted, the thread industry was started as the result, and flourished there for three hundred years.³ Similar encouragement to our manufacturing industries arose from the settlement amongst us of French Protestants, the making of lace being introduced by refugees from Alençon and Valenciennes into Bed-

¹ *Social England*, vol. iii.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, vol. viii.

fordshire, whence it extended into Bucks, Oxfordshire, and North Hants. By other immigrants the Honiton lace industry was brought into Devon. To French Huguenots also we were largely indebted for giving an impetus to silk-weaving, which at this time had made a beginning in England.¹ The woollen manufacture had long been a considerable contributor to the national wealth; but, while it maintained its old pre-eminence, it showed signs of falling into the hands of capitalists. It was extending, however, and fleeces that had formerly gone abroad to be woven and dyed were now kept at home, all the various processes through which the wool has to go before it can be made into clothes being now accomplished in England. Much of the work, too, was being done in the villages.

The south and west were equally active in mining and manufactures. Cornwall and Devon continued to export tin and lead; although the latter appears to have been produced more abundantly in Derbyshire and elsewhere in the north. Harrison² notices the excellence of the articles in pewter for domestic use, and seems to bewail the fact, as a sign of luxury, that farmers who were formerly content with wooden platters, spoons, and the like, must now have them in pewter or tin, nay, spoons even in silver. There was an export trade in these articles also: "In some places beyond the sea a garnish of good flat English pewter, of an ordinary making," being "esteemed almost so precious as

¹ *Social England*, vol. viii.

² *A Description of England*, by William Harrison.

the like number of vessels that are made of fine silver."

The iron manufacture seems to have been confined chiefly to the south-eastern counties, partly, as would appear, from the abundance of wood formerly to be had there, but now showing signs of exhaustion. This was the reason why the iron industry ultimately left those parts, and developed so enormously in the more northerly and westerly counties, in consequence of the coal mines, which were already in working there. Harrison is surprised "that there is no trade of these (coals) into Sussex and Southamptonshire, for want whereof the smiths do work their iron with charcoal," though "many of them are carried into other countries."¹ Already, in most of the towns along the coast, coal was used in lack of other fuel. Our steel was not yet of the best, and hence much of our best cutlery and edge-tools generally came from abroad, as did likewise needles, nails, and other hardware, although Sheffield had begun to put its hand to the work.

Taunton, Bridgewater, Chard, and various towns in Wilts, Gloucester, and Somerset, had long been famous for their broadcloths, and the west continued to hold the first place in regard to the English woollen industry; but Yorkshire and Lancashire were showing signs of an activity that was ultimately to make them the great creative centres of English manufacturing life.

The fishing industry seems to have fallen off from what it had formerly been. This is to be accounted

¹ *A Description of England.*

for in part by the change of faith, which no longer made the eating of fish compulsory, and partly, also, as would appear, by the greater energy and enterprise of foreign fishers, from whom English fishermen were content to buy until prevented by legislative enactment. The fishing trade was further encouraged by the remission of customs duties, as well as by the legislative enforcement of fasts. Still, at the worst of times, most of our harbours sent out their fleets of fishing-boats; although many of those who had in times past ploughed the seas for their finny treasures, now joined the crews of vessels—becoming more and more numerous every year—which went farther afield for their cargoes. It is worthy of note, however, that even in Queen Elizabeth's days English fishermen were going to Iceland for cod.

The encouragement given to seafaring matters by Henry VII. was continued by his more sagacious son. One of the earliest acts of Henry VIII.'s reign was to establish the Navy Office—to grow in after years into the Admiralty—for the superintendence of that department of the public service; while in 1514, four years after his ascent to the throne, he had granted a royal charter to the Corporation of the Trinity House. This was done on the advice of the Comptroller of the Navy, for the reformation of the maritime service, "lately much decayed by admission of young men without experience, and of Scots, Flemings, and Frenchmen, as loadsmen"—that is, pilots.

At first Henry VIII.'s navy counted but one ship

of war, the *Great Harry*, begun by Henry VII., but not completed till 1511. To this was added a second by the capture of the *Lion*, in June, 1512, from Sir Andrew Barton, a Scottish freebooter. Sir Andrew's father, having suffered at sea from the Portuguese, obtained letters-of-marque for his two sons to



PROBABLY THE "GREAT HARRY."

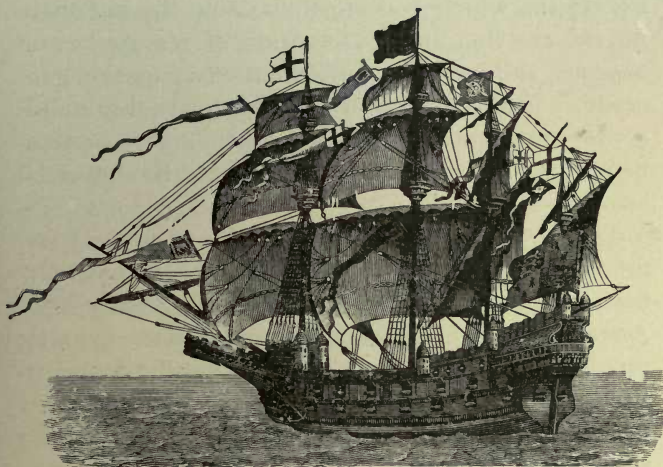
(Pepysian Library, Cambridge.)

make reprisals upon the subjects of Portugal. They appear not to have been satisfied, however, with what fell to their swords from their professed enemy, but interfered with the English navigation, under the pretence of searching for Portuguese goods. The Council Board of England, under the Presid-

ency of the Earl of Surrey, was constantly being annoyed by the complaints of English captains and merchants who had suffered from Sir Andrew's ships. Henry did not wish to offend his Scottish friends, but the Earl of Surrey declared that, while he had an estate that could furnish forth a ship, or a son who was capable of commanding one, the narrow seas should not be infested with pirates. Two ships were accordingly fitted out, and put to sea, with letters-of-marque, under the earl's two sons, Sir Thomas and Sir Edward Howard. The former came up with the *Lion*, commanded by Barton in person, and the latter with the *Union*, Sir Andrew's other vessel. Both were richly laden. An obstinate fight ensued, but the Howards ultimately prevailed. Barton lost his life, fighting bravely, and encouraging his men to the last. The two ships, with their crews, were brought into the Thames. The exploit laid the foundation of Sir Edward's fortune; for in the following year Henry made him Admiral of England, Wales, etc. The incident was, in great measure, the cause of the war which, two years later, broke out between England and Scotland. King James of Scotland insisted upon satisfaction being given for the death of Barton and the seizure of his ships. This was refused, and the issue was fought out at the battle of Flodden, in which James IV. lost his life.

In pursuance of his policy of augmenting the navy, Henry, in 1515, built another ship at Woolwich, called the *Regent*, weighing one thousand tons. It was described as the biggest ship that had up to

that time been seen in England, and was calculated to carry seven hundred soldiers, marines, and gunners. She was blown up, with every one on board, in an engagement with the French off Brest; upon which the King caused a still larger ship, the *Henri Grace à Dieu*, to be built. This was followed, from time to time, by others, so that at the end of the



THE "HENRI GRACE À DIEU."

(From the painting by Holbein.)

reign of Henry VIII. the royal navy amounted to 12,500 tons.¹

The encouragement thus given to ship-building, as to maritime affairs generally, was continued, and, indeed, improved upon, by Elizabeth. No opportunity of encouraging seamanship was allowed to slip by unimproved. English subjects who im-

¹ *Social England*, vol. iii.

ported goods in native vessels were remitted a portion of the customs due from aliens and from Englishmen who employed foreign ships, while in some trades English bottoms enjoyed a complete monopoly.¹

In the eighth year of Elizabeth an Act was passed extending the powers of the Corporation of the Trinity House, which henceforth became the authority for the erection and preservation of sea-marks and beacons, and for the advancement of navigation generally. Under this fostering care private ship-builders began to build vessels of a much larger size than heretofore, which could in case of need be converted into war-ships.

The dream of a northern passage to the far East, first conceived by Cabot, was destined to have far-reaching effects in the history of English enterprise. Already, in 1553, it was instrumental in the opening up of a trade with a land hitherto hardly known to Western Europe. Of three ships which sailed in that year under Sir Hugh Willoughby, with the view of discovering a sea-way to China by the north-east, two were afterwards found frozen, with their crews and their hapless commander, on the coast of Lapland; but the third, the *Edward Bonaventure*, under Richard Chancellor, succeeded in reaching the White Sea, where, at a town at the mouth of the Dwina, he met a Russian governor, who sent him on to Moscow. The Tsar was pleased to see him, and he was empowered, on his return to England—on his way to which he was robbed by Flemings—to

¹ *Social England*, vol. iii.

conclude an alliance between the sovereigns, and to arrange for a trade with Russia in choice furs, sables, ermines, and the like.

The treaty was duly made, and as an outcome of it the Muscovy Company received its charter in 1555, thereby obtaining a monopoly of trade with Russia, and with any new country its servants might discover. The Tsar, Ivan the Terrible, presently gave the merchants free access to all his dominions, and they endeavoured to open up a new trade route through Russia to Persia. In 1556 this monopoly was extended by Act of Parliament to include most of the trade with Armenia, Persia, and the countries bordering on the Caspian Sea, on condition that the traffic should be carried on in English ships, manned chiefly by English crews.

A more lucrative trade had already begun with the coast of Guinea, to whose gold-dust and ivory the merchants of Southampton owed their wealth, and likewise with South America. In 1528, Mr. William Hawkins, of Plymouth, father of the famous Sir John Hawkins, "a man for his wisdom, valour, experience, and skill of sea causes much esteemed and beloved of King Henry the Eighth, and one of the principal sea-captains in the west parts of England at this time," armed "a tall and goodly ship," sailed for the coast of Guinea, where he traded with the negroes for ivory and other commodities, and then crossed the Atlantic to Brazil—accidentally discovered by the Portuguese Cabral in 1500—where he "used such discretion and behaved himself so wisely with these savage people that he

grew into great familiarity with them." This was about 1530.

In a second voyage, a year or two later, "one of the savage kings of the country was contented to take ship with him" to England, Hawkins leaving behind with the natives one of his men "as a pledge of safety." On reaching London, the Brazilian king was presented to Henry VIII. at Whitehall, and a year later he sailed with Hawkins on the homeward voyage. He died on the voyage out, and some fears were entertained lest the man who had been left as hostage might be put to death. The natives, however, were satisfied that there had been no foul play; the hostage was delivered up unhurt, and Hawkins returned with his "ship freighted and furnished with the commodities of the country." From these voyages of Hawkins a lucrative trade with Guinea was opened up, which was chiefly carried on by the merchants of Southampton.

William Hawkins was followed to the coast of Guinea, in 1552, by Captain Thomas Windham, of Norfolk. Windham had, in 1551, opened up a trade with Barbary; the next year he appears to have ventured farther south, where he fell in with the Portuguese fleet. The Portuguese were greatly offended at Englishmen daring to trade in those parts, and gave out in England by their merchants, that "any they took there they would treat as their mortal enemies." However, these threats did not deter Windham, and, in 1553, he and a Portuguese named Antonio Anes Pinteado, sailed from Portsmouth in "two goodly ships," the *Primrose* and the

Lion, and a pinnace called the *Moon*. They sailed to the Guinea coast, and did trade on the Mina, obtaining a hundred and fifty pounds' weight of gold. But Windham was not satisfied with this, and desired Pinteado to take them to the Benin, which is under the Equator. Pinteado counselled his companion not to proceed further on account of the lateness of the season; but Windham would go, and Pinteado conducted the expedition against his will. The result was tragical. Pinteado went up the river with some of the merchants who were with them to do business. But while he was away, Windham, seeing "his men dying as they lay in the Benin waters," sent for Pinteado that they might get away. The latter, leaving the merchants, went to see Windham; but before he reached the ship the captain was dead. Pinteado then wished to return to bring back the traders, but the ship's company would not let him, and sailed away, leaving their companions to their fate. In the course of a few days the Portuguese followed Windham, "dying for very pensiveness and thought that struck him to the heart," while of the hundred and forty sailors who started from Portsmouth scarce forty returned, and many of them died after reaching home.

But, notwithstanding these disasters, the brothers John and Thomas Lok the following year sent three ships to the same coast, and did a good trade in gold and ivory. One of their captains, Robert Ganish, brought away with him four negroes, to be sold, it is said, as slaves, though there is some doubt of this, the account in Hakluyt being that they were

taken to England to learn the English language, so that they might on their return facilitate trade.

Up to this time the slave-trade had been entirely in the hands of the Spaniards and Portuguese. They had established it by treaty with the native chiefs, who were as glad to find a profitable way of ridding themselves of inconvenient subjects as the former were to find a lucrative commodity for the markets of the Western Continent, where the mines and plantations were suffering from a scarcity of labour, the native population being unequal to the hardships imposed upon them by their conquerors, and dying off under the infliction like murrained cattle.

The Portuguese especially distinguished themselves in this business, and their stations were little better than centres for organised slave-raiding. The English were at first welcomed by the natives as a milder species of the detestable white race; but the kidnapping of the four men caused them to doubt our traders like the rest; and when, the following year, a London merchant named Towrson came upon the coast, his voyage was rendered unprofitable because an alarm had been spread, and he found the people unwilling to traffic. The injury thus done to trading interests was so considerable that all possible haste was made to return the negroes to their people, who showed such joy on their recovery that the heart of the captain who took them back was deeply touched.

Until the beginning of the sixteenth century the countries which lay around the Mediterranean Sea

had been the most important: they now began to see themselves put in the shade by those trading upon or near the Atlantic Ocean; and Spain, Portugal, Holland, and England became the chief trading nations of the world, utterly outstripping Venice, Genoa, and the Hanseatic towns of the Baltic, which had hitherto done so much of the general carrying trade. For many years the Hanse merchants had almost monopolised the entire foreign trade to and from the port of London; but early in Elizabeth's reign their privilege was taken from them, and their depot, the Steel Yard, closed. This step had become a necessity of the time, owing to the growth of native enterprise, which the foreigners wished to curtail, as interfering with their own privileges and monopolies.

Some idea of what our commerce had already become at the commencement of Elizabeth's reign may be gathered from a list of imports and exports between England and Antwerp (which was the port with which we did the greatest trade) which has been preserved by Ludovico Guicciardini, nephew of the historian of Italy, in his description of the Netherlands. To England, he tells us, Antwerp sent jewels and precious stones, silver, gold and silver thread, camblets, grograms, spices, drugs, ginger, cotton, cummin, galls, linens, serges, demi-ostades, tapestry, madder, hops in great quantity, glass, salt fish, metallic and other merceries of all sorts to a great value, arms of all kinds, ammunition for war, and household furniture. From England, Antwerp received vast quantities of fine and coarse

draperies, fringes, and other things of that kind to a great value, the finest wool, excellent saffron in small quantities, a great deal of lead and tin, sheep- and rabbit-skins without number, and various other sorts of fine peltry and leather, beer, cheese, and other sorts of provisions, also Malmcey wines which the English imported from Candia.

“The Dutch,” the same author tells us, “were accustomed to import annually to Bruges upwards of 1200 sacks of wool, worth 250,000 crowns.” And “it is marvellous,” he adds, “to think of the vast quantity of drapery imported by the English into the Netherlands, being undoubtedly, one year with another, above 200,000 pieces of all kinds, which at the most moderate rate of 25 crowns per piece is 5,000,000 of crowns—above £1,000,000 sterling. The imports from the Netherlands were on an equal scale, so that the trade between the two countries amounted to something like £2,400,000 annually.”

Out of this international trade it is interesting to note that the principle of maritime insurance took its rise, or so it would seem from the remark of the historian to the effect that, so sensible were the merchants on both sides of the importance of this commerce, “that they have fallen into a way of insuring their merchandise from loss at sea by a joint contribution.”

There was every need for such insurance, not merely by reason of the ordinary sea risks, but on account of the pirates that infested the “narrow seas.” These had been long prevalent; but political conditions in France, England, and the Low

Countries, had tended greatly to increase their numbers during recent years. There was a well-understood and generally sanctioned law of nations, which allowed persons who had suffered loss at the hands of foreigners, if they could not get redress by ordinary process of law, to make reprisals themselves upon the wrong-doers. This law or custom was allowed to remain in force at sea long after it had died out or been abrogated in settled communities. The reason for this was that the sea was still regarded as a free domain, under no law, and that persons who ventured upon the sea did so at their own personal risk. Hence it arose that a person who felt that he had been wronged by a foreigner, appealed to his sovereign for letters-of-marque, so that he might make reprisals upon the wrong-doer.

An instance of the kind is cited above in the case of Sir Andrew Barton, which was typical of most if not all of those sailing under letters-of-marque. Their cause was against a particular nation or town; but when they were upon the free domain of the sea, they did not restrict their ravages to the countrymen of those who had aggrieved them, but turned their hands against all whom they thought they could molest with impunity. Hence there was ever a liability and a temptation for the privateer's-man to degenerate into a pirate.

During the religious wars in France letters-of-marque were issued by both the Huguenot and the Catholic party. Englishmen, eager for adventure, and seldom loath for a fight, served on both sides, and we may well believe they were not laggards in

the game. During Mary's reign many young men of good families had been obliged to take to this sort of thing for a livelihood. When the French contest was brought to an end, the "sea-dogs," as they were called, who had fought under the Huguenot flag, went to the Netherlands and helped the Dutch against their Spanish foes, and no doubt liked the business none the less on account of the richer spoils the Spaniards afforded. But while there were some who were, without question, true to the cause they had espoused, and did not descend to a lower game, there were others who put a looser construction on what Fuller facetiously called—no doubt with the accepted law of reprisals in his mind—"sea divinity." Men of this character preyed upon Spanish commerce to such an extent that Philip made grievous complaint to Elizabeth, and Elizabeth tried to put a stop to the business, or pretended to; but the sea-dogs, and their aiders and abettors in every port and harbour, were too much for her. And so, what with the profit of the worldly arising from the plundering of Spanish ships, and the pleasure of the pious in the spoiling of the "enemies of the Lord," the freebooters became every year bolder and more venturesome, until finally they threw off all pretext of fighting under this or that flag, and simply fought as against a common enemy and for their own pockets. But while the freebooters—captained by English gentlemen for the most part—were harrying Spanish commerce, every year venturing farther afield, till they were at the very gates of Philip's western empire,

the plainer and more calculating men of trade were by their energy and enterprise causing England's commerce to take enormous strides, greatly outstripping, as we have seen, its manufactures. We cannot, of course, judge it by any modern standard. The burthen of all the vessels engaged in ordinary commerce was estimated at but slightly over fifty thousand tons, although this is probably an underestimate, if we may judge by an inquiry made immediately before the descent of the Armada.

The size of the vessels employed, too, would in our days appear insignificant, the greater part of them being under eighty tons, and possibly not more than fifty—that is, much the sort of sailing craft that we now see plying along our coasts. This makes it the more surprising when we consider with what tools and implements, so to speak, our forefathers of Tudor days made the beginnings of a commercial supremacy, the like of which the world had not previously seen, and laid the foundations of an Empire that clips the earth to-day with a belt of English speech.





CHAPTER III.

SIR JOHN HAWKINS AND HIS EXPLOITS.

ONE of the most noteworthy events in the earlier part of Queen Elizabeth's reign was the fitting out of the first expedition of John Hawkins for the Guinea coast. We have seen how his father, William Hawkins, was one of the earliest pioneers of trade in that region. Others, like the Loks of London, who traded on the Guinea coast in 1554, like William Towrson, another London merchant, who followed them in 1555, subsequently making two more voyages, bartering cloth and other articles for gold and ivory and other commodities, carried on the trade thus begun. Ganish, a commander under one of the Loks, appears to have conceived the idea of making the traffic with the natives easier by carrying off several negroes and keeping them in England for a year to learn the language, the trade at that time being chiefly in the hands of the Portuguese, whose speech the natives in many parts understood and could speak.

That the English traders had not as yet taken up the trade in slaves arose probably from no feeling or

sentiment of humanity, but simply because they had not yet learned where to market such wares properly. It fell to the lot of John Hawkins to make that discovery.

John Hawkins was brought up to the sea, and while quite a young man made "divers voyages to the isles of the Canaries." Here he learned "that negroes were very good merchandise in Hispaniola, and that they might easily be had on the coast of Guinea."¹ Accordingly, in 1562, he, in conjunction with Thomas Hampton, fitted out three ships for the traffic, the largest of a hundred and twenty tons, and sailed from Plymouth in October. Arriving in Sierra Leone, he there, "partly by the sword and partly by other means"—which seem to have included the plundering of Portuguese vessels—obtained three hundred negroes, with which he ran across the Atlantic to the island of Hispaniola. As this was quite a new attempt at opening up trade in these regions, Hawkins deemed it expedient to pretend that he had been driven out of his course by bad weather, that he was short of provisions, and without money to pay his men; and requested permission to sell "certain slaves which he had with him."² The governor knew that it was against the rules for foreigners to trade in the ports of the New World; but as there was evidently a demand for slaves, he seems to have thought his instructions elastic enough to allow the negroes to be sold. The proceeds of his venture Hawkins laid out in hides, ginger, sugar, pearls, and other commodities

¹ Hakluyt, vol. iii.

² *Ibid.*

of the island. One half of his purchase he sent in Spanish vessels to Cadiz in charge of his partner, taking the other half with him to England. No one concerned in this affair seems to have anticipated any trouble; it was therefore with no little surprise that, on reaching home in September, 1563, Hawkins learned that Hampton's cargo was seized and sold as soon as he reached Cadiz, he himself only escaping imprisonment by taking immediate flight. Hawkins thus saw himself at a blow robbed of half his earnings. He estimated his loss at twenty thousand pounds, and endeavoured by every means in his power to get it restored, but in vain. Philip appears to have thought it as well to make this attempt to break his laws an object-lesson to all such as might be disposed to follow Hawkins's example.

The same year (1562) another English trader, named Robert Baker, appears to have made a voyage to Guinea, of which we have a description in Hakluyt—the Froissart of the heroic age of English maritime adventure and travel—in the form of a rhyming chronicle. In it is recorded how the white men were robbed of their merchandise, and how they fought to regain it. The scene of these events is not mentioned; but in a second voyage Baker reached the Portuguese settlement of La Mina, where he was separated from his ships, and spent some time in captivity among the natives.

But to return to Hawkins. Undaunted by the misadventure of his first voyage, and, no doubt, burning to take his revenge, he at once set to work to

prepare another expedition, his first adventure having brought him sufficient repute to raise up influential friends. Foremost among these were the Earl of Pembroke and Lord Robert Dudley, afterwards



SIR JOHN HAWKINS.

Earl of Leicester, both of whom took a share in the enterprise. The queen, also, was interested, and was induced to lend the *Jesus of Lubeck*, a ship of seven hundred tons. With this vessel, his former ship the *Solomon*, and two smaller craft for river

work, Hawkins sailed from Plymouth, October 18, 1564. Another expedition under David Carlet, with a similar purpose and destination, was fitted out at the same time from London. It was composed of three vessels, the *Unicorn*, the *John the Baptist*, and the *Merlin*, the first-named being one of the queen's ships. In consequence of the *Merlin*, which carried the powder, being blown up very soon after the start, Carlet elected to join his forces with those of Hawkins, and the little squadron of six ran south together. They arrived at Teneriffe on November 7th, and proceeded thence to the Cape de Verde Islands, where, the natives being found "very gentle and loving, and more civil than any others,"¹ it was proposed to take in a store of them. For some reason or other the two commanders fell out, and Carlet's people, to spite their rivals, warned the islanders of what was intended, "so that they did avoid the snares laid for them."

After this piece of treachery Hawkins left his companion to shift for himself, sailed down the coast past the Rio Grande, filling his vessels by raid or purchase as he went along with human merchandise. At one place (December 27th) he attacked a town—treacherously misled by some Portuguese, he said—and came off but second best, with the loss of seven men, besides twenty wounded. He had hoped to find a hundred women and children unprotected, and was greatly astonished and disgusted when instead he saw himself set upon by so large a body of negroes that he was glad to get off with such loss as

¹ Hakluyt.

he had, and the gain of ten slaves. "Thus," wrote one of the party, "we returned back somewhat discomfited, although the captain in a singular wise carried himself with countenance very cheerful outwardly, although his heart was inwardly broke at the loss of his men."¹

With the exception of this bit of untowardly business, everything went swimmingly until the 29th of January, when Hawkins was enabled to turn his back upon Sierra Leone with "a great company of negroes," and to make what haste he could for the West Indies. "Calms and baffling winds made the voyage long"; water threatened to run short, and he was afraid that some of his valuable cargo might die. "But," says the pious chronicler of the voyage,² "Almighty God, who never suffers his elect to perish," sent a timely breeze, and St. Domingo was reached on March 9th without the loss of a single negro. Hawkins did not venture on the attempt to do any trading here, however, thinking, no doubt, that the governor and council had received a lesson from Philip as well as himself, but after taking in water, made all the haste he could to the mainland. The place they first came to with the intention of doing business was Burburata, in Venezuela; but the governor had received strict orders from Spain to allow no trade to be conducted with anyone belonging to a foreign nation; and as nothing that Hawkins could say was of any avail to move him to disobey instructions, he resolved to try force, and on the 16th of April landed "a hundred men well

¹ Hakluyt.

² *Ibid.*

armed . . . with which he marched to the town wards." Thus constrained, the governor came to terms; a trade was opened, and many of the negroes were disposed of. The same farce—for one cannot help suspecting some connivance on the part of the governor—was gone through at Rio de la Hacha, with the same result, the remainder of the living cargo being sold off within ten days.

The little flotilla then sailed northwards, passed the west end of Cuba, through the Gulf of Florida, and so along the mainland, looking for water. Coming to St. John's river, they were enabled to relieve the necessities of a small French colony, which was in a state of destitution, and by so doing nearly brought destruction upon themselves. For, being harassed by contrary winds, and much delayed, they ran short of provisions; but, coming up to the banks of Newfoundland, they were there relieved by a great catch of codfish, and were afterwards put in stores by falling in with a couple of French ships, from which they were able to purchase what they required. The expedition finally reached Padstow on the 20th of September, thus concluding a voyage which was described as "profitable to the adventurers, as also to the whole nation, in bringing home both gold, silver, pearls, and other jewels great store."¹

These successful ventures brought Hawkins into great repute as a wise and capable merchant and seaman; and as he was now rich, it was thought desirable to make him a gentleman by giving him a

¹ Hakluyt.

coat-of-arms, his crest being a demi-moor, proper, in chains—in allusion, of course, to his having opened up such possibilities of profit in connection with the trade in African slaves. This second act of daring, however, in face of Philip II.'s explicit prohibition, so enraged that prince, and such complaints were made by his ambassador, that Elizabeth was obliged, in appearance at least, to discountenance any further venture of the kind. Hawkins was at the time in the midst of preparations for another voyage; but, on being called before the council, and bound over not to go near the West Indies, nor to break the laws of the King of Spain, he relinquished his projected voyage, though it is said that his ships sailed under another commander. De Silva, the Spanish ambassador, positively affirmed that such was the case, and Froude, following him, seems to have no doubt in the matter, stating that the ships duly “returned loaded with gold and silver and rich skins.” However, there is no English record of the fact, which, seeing the notoriety into which everything connected with Hawkins and his doings was raised, makes the supposed voyage extremely doubtful.

The only record we have of a Guinea voyage in 1566 is that of George Fenner with the *Castle of Comfort*, the *Mayflower*, and the *George* pinnace. In its way, Fenner's voyage is as notable as Hawkins's, showing, as it does, the indomitable way in which Englishmen in those days, as now, were prepared to fight against any odds, if they happened to be under a man who knew how to lead them. On

their way home they were engaged by seven Portuguese men-of-war, whom they finally beat off, after a running fight of several days' duration. Shortly after sighting the *Lizard*, they fell in with another Portuguese ship, a trader, with whom they entered into negotiations for the sale of five negroes they had on board for forty chests of sugar. While the Portuguese were in the act of transferring the sugar to Fenner's vessels two ships—"a great ship and a small"—bore down upon them. Fenner, taking them for pirates, bade the "Portugals" carry the sugar back to their ship, while he prepared for defence. The Portuguese were greatly alarmed, and implored the captain not to forsake them, offering, if he would safeguard their ship, ten chests of sugar over and above their bargain. "Wherefore," says the recounter of this little epic of trade, "our captain was content, and the Portugall not being of good sayle, we spare two topsayls for her."¹ But the pirates, seeing the Englishmen by no means loth for a fight, bore off and left them alone.

Hawkins was not to be kept long out of the game, and in 1567 he resolved on undertaking another voyage. This time there was no hindrance on the part of either the queen or the council. His squadron consisted of six ships, all heavily armed, two of them, the *Jesus* and the *Minion*, being lent by the queen. The smallest vessel of the fleet was the *Judith*, a bark of fifty tons, commanded by Francis Drake, a kinsman of Hawkins. As this is his first appearance on the page of history, and as he was destined to

¹ Hakluyt.

shed a lustre on our naval annals, second perhaps to none as regards his influence in the building up of the Empire, a few details about his youth will not be out of place.

Francis Drake was the son of Edmund Drake of Tavistock, and was born in the year 1545 in a cottage about a mile to the south of that town, on the banks of the Tavy. His father received the rudiments of a liberal education, and, embracing Protestant opinions, sought safety from persecution by going to Kent, where he obtained Holy Orders. In the beginning of her reign Elizabeth was wont to station a fleet in the river Medway, near Upnor, and to it he acted as chaplain. Drake himself said that his father was Vicar of Upnor, though it seems doubtful whether there was a church at that place.¹

The boy, brought up from his infancy in the most intimate contact with the royal fleet, not only soon learned to know all about ships, but early conceived a passion for a seafaring life; and his father, poor and encumbered with a numerous family—there being eleven sons besides Francis—was not in a position to oppose his inclination. “He put him,” says Camden, “to the master of a bark, his neighbour, who held him hard to his business in the vessel, with which he used to coast along the shore, and sometimes to carry merchandise into Zealand or France.” By this means he speedily acquired that practical knowledge of his profession which, combined with the qualities necessary to command, en-

¹ Others seek to identify him with an Edmund Drake who, in 1560, was presented to the vicarage of Upchurch in Kent.

abled him to become, in after years, the greatest sailor and naval commander of his age. His trustworthiness and diligence won for him the good-will and regard of his master, who, dying without heirs, left his ship to young Drake. He is said to have been engaged in one or two voyages to Guinea and the Spanish Main with Captain John Lovell, in 1565-1566. The following year, being then in his twenty-first year, full of life and vigour, and ready for any service that promised adventure coupled with gain, and hearing that his kinsman Hawkins was preparing for his third voyage to Guinea and the Spanish Main, he proceeded to Plymouth to join him, and, as we have seen, was entrusted with the command of the *Judith*.

While Hawkins was lying in the Catwater at Plymouth, getting ready to sail, an incident occurred which shows the character of the man, and at the same time casts a striking light upon the ticklish relations existing between the English and Spanish nations, who at a word were ready to fly at each other's throats. Some Spanish ships from the Netherlands, with prisoners on board for Spain, entered the Sound, and stood on, with the intention, apparently, of going into the harbour; whereupon Hawkins, either because he feared some evil intention, or because the Catwater was full, and this was the readiest way to bring them up, at once fired a shot at them. They immediately struck their flag and anchored. The next day some unknown ship, running alongside, rescued the prisoners; but of this Hawkins disclaimed all knowledge till after the

event.¹ The affair naturally made a great stir; the Spanish ambassador remonstrated, asking that the perpetrator of the outrage should be punished. Hawkins was called upon to explain, which he did in a way. The queen expressed regrets, perhaps felt them, and so the matter was handled with all diplomacy, until shouldered out of the way by more pressing questions. Meanwhile Hawkins was allowed to sail (October 2d), and went away south.

The little squadron first ran down to the Guinea coast, and took in a cargo of between four and five hundred negroes, after which the commander directed his course to Spanish America, reaching St. Domingo on the 27th of March. Proceeding thence to the mainland, he coasted from place to place, doing very little business until he came to the island of Margarita, where they "had reasonable trade and courteous entertainment."² Nothing happened of any consequence until they came to Rio de la Hacha ("whence come all the pearls"). Here they hoped to do business as at other places, but the governor, following the instructions of the king, refused to traffic with them, whereupon Hawkins entered the town with a hundred men in armour, and two guns. Thus compelled, the governor allowed them to trade, and in ten days they sold two hundred negroes. Proceeding thence to other places, they disposed of more negroes, finally arriving at Carthagena, where the governor could not be induced to depart from his instructions.

¹ *Nat. Dict. Biog.*

² Hakluyt, vol. iii.

The squadron finally left the coast on the 24th of July, with fifty-seven negroes still to sell, and proceeded north, according to Hawkins's own account, with the intention of going home. But early in August, off the West end of Cuba, towards the coast of Florida, they fell in with a storm that lasted four days, and "so beat the *Jesus*"—the queen's ship, and the largest of the squadron—"that we . . . were rather upon the point to leave her than to keep her any longer; yet hoping to bring all to good pass, sought the coast of Florida, where we found no place nor haven for our ships, because of the shallowness of the coast." ¹ A fresh storm that lasted three days finally drove them to take refuge in the port of San Juan de Lua (now Vera Cruz) on the coast of Mexico. The storm was not so bad, however, but they were able on the way thither to take three Spanish ships carrying a hundred passengers, the possession of whom they thought would the better enable them to buy provisions, and to secure a quiet place in which to repair their ships. In the port they found twelve other ships, reported to contain gold and silver to the value of two hundred thousand pounds. As proof of his good intentions, Hawkins afterwards cited the fact that not only did he not molest the ships, but he set free the hundred passengers he had taken before reaching San Juan.

This is the story Hawkins tells; but it is thought that the being driven in by a storm may have been a pretext, and that he had really gone thither with the intention of disposing of the remainder of his

¹ Hakluyt, vol. iii.

negroes, who were valued at a hundred and sixty pounds apiece.

When, on the 16th of September, the little squadron entered the harbour, the townspeople took them for a Spanish fleet which they were expecting; and when they found out their mistake they were not a little concerned. Hawkins, while professing to have entered merely for shelter, and to procure provisions, for which he was willing to pay, nevertheless deemed it prudent to detain two persons of importance as hostages. Meanwhile a messenger was sent to the viceroy of Mexico; but before any answer could be received the expected fleet arrived. The position of the Englishmen was thus rendered critical in the extreme. The Spanish vessels, thirteen in number, were said to amount in value to £1,800,000. If kept out of the bay they ran imminent risk of destruction; if allowed to enter, the English squadron was placed at their mercy. After some parley, however, terms were agreed to. Hawkins was to be allowed to provision and repair his ships, to hold the island which commanded the port until he was ready to sail, and to be given, as well as to give hostages. On the faith of this understanding, the Spanish fleet was permitted to sail in (September 20th), and civilities were exchanged between the officers of the two squadrons.

It was evident, however, that the Spaniards intended to be bound by the treaty only until it could be violated with impunity. Having lulled the suspicions of the English, they began secretly to strengthen their ships' companies by reinforcements

from the land. This, at first, did not create much surprise. But "the Spaniards," says one of the detailed accounts of the affair,¹ "presently brought a great hulk, a ship of six hundred, and moored her by the side of the *Minion*, and they cut out ports in their other ships"—that is, the merchantmen—"planting their ordnance towards us. In the night they filled the hulk with men, and lay the *Minion* aboard, as the sequel did show, which made our general doubtful of their doings. Wherefore, for that he could speak the Spanish tongue," continues Hartop, "he sent Robert Barret aboard the *Viceroy* to know his meaning in these dealings." These the Spanish admiral "commanded presently to be set in the bilbowes, and forthwith a cornet (for a watchword among the false Spaniards) was sounded for the enterprising of their pretended treason against our general, whom Augustine de Villa Nueva, sitting at dinner with him"—in the *Jesus*—"should then presently have killed with a poynado, which he had privily in his sleeve." But he was "espied and prevented by one John Chamberlayne, who took the poynado out of his sleeve."

Don Augustine was incontinently hustled into the steward's room, and there kept prisoner under the guard of two men; and Hawkins, jumping on deck, saw three hundred Spaniards make an attempt to board the *Minion*, whereat, with a loud and fierce voice, he "called unto us, saying, 'God and St. George! upon those traitorous villains, and rescue the *Minion*!' With that the mariners and soldiers leapt

¹ That of Job Hartop, in Hakluyt.

out of the *Jesus of Lubeck* into the *Minion*, and beat out the Spaniards, and with a shot out of her fired the Spaniard's vice-admiral, when the most part of three hundred Spaniards were spoiled and blown overboard by powder. Their admiral also was on fire half an hour.

"We cut our cables," continues Hartop, "wound off our ships, and presently fought with them. They came upon us on every side, and continued the fight from ten o'clock until it was night. They killed all our men that were on shore in the island save three, who by swimming got on board the *Jesus of Lubeck*."

So terribly were the English overmatched, and placed at such a disadvantage in the narrow haven, which is formed by the low-lying island of San Juan, that there was no hope for them but in flight. After the massacre of the party holding the island, the small battery set up there by Hawkins for the defence of his ships, was turned against them. Exposed thus to a raking fire from the fleet and the fortifications, four of the ships were quickly either sunk or rendered unmanageable. The *Jesus* was one of the first to be put in this condition, and the commander and most of the crew were compelled to take refuge on the *Minion*, which ship and the *Judith* were the only ones that, running out of the harbour under cover of night, managed to escape. The wonder is that any at all got out of the trap. Yet by the resolute courage of these sons of the Vikings, the flag-ship of the Spanish admiral and several others were either burnt or sunk. It is

alleged that many of the English sailors were butchered in cold blood rather than in fair fight. *Per contra*, Hartop declares, from information subsequently received in Mexico, that of the fifteen hundred men engaged against them they slew four hundred and fifty.

When fairly out of the lion's den, the *Minion* and the *Judith* found themselves in a woeful condition. Their rigging was shattered, they had lost their anchors, and they were short of provisions and water. Of the two, however, the *Minion* was in the worst plight, having about two hundred men on board, many of them suffering from grievous wounds. The two vessels parted company during the night, and Hawkins accused Drake of forsaking him in the hour of need. The probability is that there was no intentional desertion, but that those on the *Judith* felt that they had enough to do to shift for themselves. It is certain, however, that Drake completed his homeward voyage with less difficulty and suffering than his more luckless consort, which seems to have had an awful time of it. The details given by Miles Philips of the calamities of the voyage home are too horrible for recital. Of two hundred men on board the *Minion*, for whom they had no provisions, one hundred elected to be put on shore on a desolate part of the Mexican coast, where many of them died of hunger, while others were taken and thrown into prison, Job Hartop, the narrator above quoted, amongst the number.

Some idea of the sufferings on the voyage home may be gathered from the following passage in

Hawkins's *Personal Narrative*: "If all the miseries and troublesome affairs of this sorrowful voyage should be perfectly and thoroughly written, there should need a painefull man with a pen, and as great a time as he had that wrote the *Lives and Deaths of the Martyrs*." ¹

The relation of these sufferings, produced as they were, if we may credit Hawkins—for we have only his account of the negotiations and what followed—by the treachery and barbarity of the Spaniards, left an ineffaceable impression on the minds of the English people, already only too deeply incensed against that cruel people.

But if such was the effect upon popular feeling, what must have been the impression made upon Drake? In this expedition he found himself reduced to poverty; and by this circumstance, and the suffering he had seen caused by their treachery, "was laid the foundation of that hatred and distrust of the Spaniards which must have palliated many of his subsequent actions, and reconciled his countrymen to conduct they might not so readily have pardoned in one less sinned against." ²

¹ Hakluyt, vol. iii.

² *Lives of Famous Circumnavigators*.





CHAPTER IV.

DRAKE'S VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD.

THE story need not be told here of how Hawkins plotted and intrigued to get compensation from Philip for the loss and injury he had sustained at San Juan de Lua, and for the redemption of those of his companions-in-arms who had been left at San Juan or on the Mexican mainland, many of whom still languished in captivity in Spanish prisons. By his discreditable intrigue he obtained from Philip £40,000, which he reckoned as some compensation for his loss, and was instrumental in obtaining the pardon of a few captives. Henceforth, until the Armada called him forth once more, his life was spent on shore, superintending the building and fitting out of ships, to which, after his long and varied experience, he was, perhaps, better fitted than any man then in England. About the year 1571, he was made Treasurer of the Navy—an office previously held by his father-in-law, Gonson; to this office was presently added that of Comptroller of the Navy—functions which he continued to fill for the remainder of his life.

His experience in connection with the building and navigation of ships, and also in relation to their qualities as fighting engines, enabled him to make and adopt many improvements in their rigging and construction, especially as applied to the navy. He made them more weatherly by lowering the huge castles at the bow and stern, which, up to this time, were in vogue, and faster by adding to their length, and so giving them finer lines¹; and hence it was largely to his initiative that English ships in the great queen's reign got the reputation of being the most "conveniently made" of any, and that "for strength, assurance, nimbleness, and swiftness of sailing" there were "no vessels in the world to be compared with ours."²

That English ships were all this, Drake's exploits on the Spanish main, in revenge of his imprisoned companions, and to make good his own personal losses, as well as to enhance the fortunes of his country, now went to prove.

Although there are many who are not able to give their approval to all the deeds that marked the career of Drake, no one can deny his immense service to his country. He unquestionably did more than any other man of that age, great as it was in naval heroes, to point out England's way to empire, and that by not only helping to train a race of sailors the most fearless the world has known, but by discovering and showing to his countrymen the system

¹ Professor Loughton, *Introduction to State Papers relating to the Defeat of the Spanish Armada*.

² Harrison's *England*.

pursued by the Spaniards and Portuguese in their trade with the vast possessions they held both in the East and the West. From one ship in particular, which became his prize, documents of such importance in this respect were taken that, when their contents were made known to the merchants of London, they had for result enterprises that led to the founding of the East India Company, and ultimately to the establishment of that vast dominion in the East which is now one of the fairest appanages of the British crown.

During the two years immediately following the disastrous affair of San Juan, Drake seems to have spent much time trying to obtain compensation for his losses. Coming to the conclusion at length, however, "that no recompense could be recovered out of Spain, he used such help as he might by two several voyages into the West Indies (the first with two ships, the one called the *Dragon*, the other the *Swan*, in the year 1570 ; the other in the *Swan* alone in the year 1571) to gain such intelligences as might further him to get some amends for his loss. And having in these voyages gotten such certain notice of the persons and places aimed at as he thought requisite, he thereupon, with good deliberation, resolved on a third voyage." ¹

The "intelligences" which he thus obtained appear to have been very thorough and satisfactory, with the result that, young though he still was for such a command, he found those who were ready to assist him in fitting out an expedition. His equip-

¹ *Drake Revived.*

ment for this memorable voyage consisted of the *Pasha*, of seventy tons, commanded by himself, and



SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.

the *Swan*, of twenty-five tons, of which his brother John was captain, the two vessels carrying, in all,

seventy-three men. For use in rivers and shallow waters, Drake took with him two pinnaces, in parts, to be put together as occasion required.

With this small expedition he sailed from Plymouth on the 24th of May, 1572, "with intent to land at Nombre de Dios," then the grand storehouse of the treasure brought from Mexico and Peru, *via* Panama, on its way to Spain. On the 6th of July they came within sight of the high land of Santa Marta, and a few days later entered a small harbour in the Gulf of Darien, which Drake in a former voyage had made use of and called Port Pleasant. Here the adventurers put together the pinnaces, and being joined by a small bark with thirty men from the Isle of Wight, under James Rouse, found their forces increased to a hundred men. On the 20th they again put to sea, and two days later arrived at the Isle of Pines, where Rouse was left with thirty men in charge of the ships. The rest, seventy-three in all, went on in the pinnaces, and on the morning of the 29th of July arrived off Nombre de Dios.

Drake had increased his forces by enlisting some escaped negro slaves in his service, with whom it is estimated that he had about one hundred and fifty men under his command. Leaving half his force at a small port, he advanced with the other half upon the town. "The Spaniards quickly mustered in the market-place; but after a sharp skirmish, in which Drake was severely wounded in the thigh, they were put to flight." They took several prisoners, and these were made to conduct them to the

governor's house, where they found an enormous quantity of silver bars, worth, as they estimated, nearly a million sterling. As it was impossible for them to carry away such a mass in their boats, they proceeded to the treasure-house, "in which were stored the gold, pearls, and jewels." Here, Drake told his followers, there was "more than the pin-naces could carry"; then, noticing that his men seemed disheartened, he pointed out to them that "he had brought them to the mouth of the Treasure of the World; if they would want it, they might henceforth blame nobody but themselves."¹ They then set to work to break open the doors; but as they did so Drake began to faint through loss of blood. This so discouraged the men that they forcibly carried him down to their boats, and taking a ship that was in the harbour, they went to Bastimentos, or the Isle of Victuals, just outside the harbour, about a league from the town; where they stayed the two next days to cure their men and refresh.

Though disappointed of the booty he had expected to take in the town, Drake was not easily turned from his purpose. During the next few months he hung about the neighbouring seas, taking, pillaging, and burning such Spanish ships as came in his way, attacking and burning Porto Bello—afterwards to become what Nombre de Dios had been—and doing all the mischief to the natural enemy that he could. Nor did he go scathless himself, losing two of his brothers who were with the expedition, besides a large number of men through

¹ *Drake Revived.*

sickness. This caused him to scuttle the *Swan*, so that he might increase the number of men available for work on shore.

Finally, on the 3d of February, 1573, leaving his small squadron in the Sound of Darien, he landed with eighteen men, to whom he joined thirty Cimaroons, a native tribe of those parts with whom he had made friends, and marched across the isthmus, intending to intercept the mules carrying treasure from Panama to Nombre de Dios. It was on their way thither that Drake first beheld the Pacific, and received that vivid inspiration which, according to Camden, left him no peace of mind until he had accomplished his purpose of sailing an English ship on its waters. The account of this incident given in the original history, entitled *Sir Francis Drake Revived*, is so graphic and picturesque that it is worth transcribing entire.

After travelling several days, the account says, "we came to the height of the desired hill (lying east and west like a ridge between the two seas) about ten of the clock: when the chief of the Cimaroons took our captain by the hand and prayed him to follow him. Here was that goodly and great tree, in which they had cut and made divers steps to ascend near to the top, where they had made a convenient bower, wherein ten or twelve men might easily sit; and from thence we might see the Atlantic Ocean we came from, and the South Atlantic we so much desired. South and north of this tree they had felled certain trees that the prospect might be the clearer.

“ After our captain had ascended to this bower with the chief Cimaroon, and having, as it pleased God at this time, by reason of the breeze, a very fair day, had seen that sea of which he had heard such golden reports, he besought Almighty God of his goodness to give him life and leave to sail once in an English ship in that sea. And then, calling up all the rest of our men, acquainted John Oxenham especially with this his petition and purpose, if it would please God to grant him that happiness: who, understanding it, presently protested that, unless our captain did beat him from his company, he would follow him by God’s grace.”¹

From this spot they passed on their way to Panama, and in due course fell in with the caravan bringing the gold and silver ore over the isthmus; but, through the stupidity of a drunken sailor, the booty was lost, and after all their toil they returned to their ship with but little profit. Fate seemed against them, and a less determined man than Drake, after nearly a year of hardship and ill-success, would have given up the game and gone home. But Drake was not that kind of man: he stayed on for another cast, and on the 1st of April was successful in intercepting three convoys of treasure, numbering in all one hundred and ninety mules. The gold and as much silver as they could

¹ Oxenham was the first Englishman to spread his sails in the Pacific. Landing in 1575 on the north side of Darien, he marched across the narrow neck of land, and having built a pinnace, embarked on the South Sea, and took two prizes. But he was taken with the booty in his possession, and hanged at Lima (Hakluyt, vol. iii.).

carry was taken, but half the silver, fifteen tons in all, was hidden in holes in the ground and in the shallow bed of the river for subsequent removal. Its place of concealment, however, was discovered to the Spaniards by a prisoner, and when Drake sent a party to bring it away, very little remained.

Drake now hastened to the coast; but when he and his little company reached the place where they expected to find the pinnaces, there was nothing to be seen of them. Lashing together some trunks of trees, they formed a rude raft, and on this frail structure, with rice bags for a sail, Drake and four others put to sea in search of the missing boats, which, after some hours of perilous navigation, they found; and, bringing them to where the others were waiting, presently all got safely to their ship.

In parting with the friendly Cimaroons, Drake displayed a trait of character which marks the generous character of the man, and to some extent accounts for the power he had over the men under his command. To the cacique of the tribe he presented his own cutlass, for which the chief had discovered a great desire. In return, the warrior gave him four large wedges of gold, which Drake, declining to appropriate to himself, threw into the common stock, saying, "he thought it but just that such as bore the charge of so uncertain a voyage should share the utmost advantage the voyage afforded."¹

Drake now turned his prow homewards and, having a fair wind, they ran from Cape Florida to the

¹ *Biographia Britannica*, vol. v.



DRAKE GOING TO SEA ON A RAFT IN SEARCH OF HIS PINNACES.

Scilly Isles in twenty-three days—probably the quickest passage that had then been made. It was on Sunday, the 9th of August, while many people were at church, that his ship sailed into Plymouth, and “the news of Drake’s return did so speedily pass over all the church and surpass all their minds with pleasure and delight to see him, that very few or none remained with the preacher, all hastening to see the evidences of God’s love and blessing towards our gracious queen and country.”¹

Thus ended an expedition which was held to be one of the most successful that had yet sailed to the West Indies, the treasure brought home therefrom being so considerable that Drake’s portion made him a fairly rich man.

During the three years next succeeding that of his return, Drake appears to have been employed a good deal of the time in Ireland, where, under the Earl of Essex, he is said to have done good service in helping to subdue the rebellion—that rebellion which has ever been going on in the sister isle, and which we have been for ever trying to subdue—in the wrong way.

While Drake was thus busy in Ireland, another daring rider of the high seas came to the front, and took up the record of exploration to the north-west, where the Cabots had left it. This was Martin Frobisher, than whom few of the many noble and notable figures that adorn the annals of Elizabeth’s reign are more worthy of notice. In the galaxy of heroes who adorn that reign, though eclipsed to

¹ *Drake Revived.*

some extent by others who were more successful in a worldly sense, there is not a man that, as regards enterprise and daring, takes higher rank than he.

Frobisher, a Yorkshireman by birth, began his seafaring career very young, gaining his early experience chiefly in the narrow seas, but going on his first voyage to Guinea in 1554. He is supposed to have learned his trade as a navigator under the brothers John and Thomas Lok, who sent yearly expeditions either to the Levant or to the northern shores of Africa. After some service on the coast of Ireland, Frobisher, at the instance of the queen, was granted a license from the Muscovy Company (February 3, 1575) to discover a north-west passage to China. Out of this grew his three voyages to the Arctic seas. He was enabled, by the Earl of Warwick and other adventurers, to fit out two small barques of twenty-five tons, the *Gabriel* and the *Michael*, and a pinnace of ten tons, with which he sailed northwards on the 7th of June, 1576, and sighted Cape Farewell, the southern point of Greenland (which he took for the Faroes), on the 11th of July. Shortly afterwards the pinnace, with four men, was lost in a storm, and the *Michael*, losing her consort, returned to Bristol on the 1st of September. Frobisher himself proceeded in the *Gabriel* to the north-west, "knowing that the sea at length must have an ending, and that some land should have a beginning that way; and determined, therefore, at the least, to bring true prooffe what land and sea the same might be so farre to the northwestwards."

On the 20th of July he had sight of a high land,

which he called Queen Elizabeth's Foreland, and on the following day discovered the straits named after him. Passing to the northern shore, he sailed westward into Frobisher's Bay, "above fifty leagues, having upon either hand a great main or continent." These he took for the continents of Asia and America.

At Burcher's Island they came in contact with natives, who are described by Hall, the master of the *Gabriel*, as "like to Tartars, with long black haire, broad faces, and flatte noses, and tawnie in colour, wearing seal skinnies; and so doe the women, not differing in the fashion, but the women are marked by blewe streekes downe the cheekes, and round about the eyes. Their boates are made all of seale's skinnies, with a keel of wood within the skin, flat in the bottome and sharpe at both ends." They took one of the natives on board, and after giving him some presents, sent five sailors to put him ashore. These men were taken by the natives, and were not recovered. Frobisher arrived at Harwich on the 2d of October, bringing with him an Esquimaux and his canoe, captured after the loss of the five sailors. In London he was received with great honour, and "was highly commended of all men for his great and notable attempt, but specially famous for the great hope he brought of the passage to Cataye."¹

But though much was thought of Frobisher's discoveries, the thing that attracted most people's attention as the outcome of his voyage was a piece

¹ Hakluyt, vol. iii.

of black pyrite, which was brought back amongst other things, and which at first was considered of no account; but certain "gold-finders" having seen



MARTIN FROBISHER.

it, they were of opinion that it contained gold. This report set fire to the popular imagination—the gold fever was "in the air," as we say now—and men were ready to go anywhere and do anything to

get gold. Hence, "the hope of more of the same gold ore to be found kindled a great opinion in the hearts of many to advance the voyage again." Accordingly, preparations were made for another expedition the following year. It set sail on the 27th of May, 1577, being composed of three ships, of which the largest, the *Aide*, lent by the queen, was of two hundred tons. The others were the *Gilbert* and *Michael*. On the 10th of June they met three sails of Englishmen from Iceland, by whom they sent letters to England. After encountering a storm, in which the *Michael* was nearly wrecked, the little fleet met once more (July 17th) at Hall's Island, at the north entrance of Frobisher's Bay, "whence the ore was taken up which was brought into England this last year" (1576).

On the 29th of July the expedition proceeded to the Countess of Warwick's Island, where was "found good store of gold," and it was deemed "best to load here than to seek further for better." Between this and the middle of August, Frobisher had loaded his ships with about two hundred tons of the precious mineral, besides exploring the northern mainland. On the 24th he left for England, arriving at Milford Haven on the 23d of September. When the ore had been tested, it was admitted to be "poor in respect of that brought last year, and that which we know may be brought next year."

The nation was in no mood to accept the result of these two voyages as final; it had made up its mind that there was gold in the region to which Frobisher had given the name *Meta Incognita*—possibly an-

other Peru—and gold they must have; so, on the 31st of May next, the plucky explorer was dispatched with a fleet of fifteen vessels for the “north-west parts.” Along with him went a large number of men, gentlemen among the rest, with a view of starting a colony to work the supposed Arctic El Dorado. The expedition is thus notable as the first attempt, after Cabot’s, made by the English to found a colony; but nothing came of it, save the accidental discovery of a new strait by Frobisher, afterwards explored by Hudson, and the loading of the soundest of the vessels with the dross supposed to be gold ore. The fleet was back in England at the beginning of October. At first Frobisher was received with every mark of public esteem; but when it was seen how worthless was the rubbish he had brought back with him, he soon found how quickly freezing the popular breeze can become.

A curious fact connected with this voyage was the discovery of an island in latitude $57\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ north by one of the vessels of the fleet, described as a “land seeming to be fruitful, full of woods, and a campaign country,” along which they sailed three days. This island (called Buss) is said to have been seen subsequently several times, about a century later, but after that was entirely lost sight of, and is supposed to have been submerged.

The Earl of Essex, father of the queen’s favourite, was one of Drake’s patrons, and when he died (in 1576), the intrepid sailor at once set to work to carry out his long-cherished design. Although the project was kept generally secret, it was, of course,

communicated to the queen—to whom, after his return from his West India voyage, he had been presented by Sir Christopher Hatton. Elizabeth, while not openly approving, did not absolutely discountenance the project. There was such a general, and, it must be added, well-founded apprehension of the power and animosity of Spain, that one cannot wonder if the English people looked with satisfaction upon enterprises for lowering her prestige and reducing her wealth, wherein lay her enormous power, against which their sense of right would probably, under other circumstances, have revolted. Nor can we suppose Elizabeth to have been less sensible of the advantage, as well as the glory, that would accrue to her kingdom through the prosperous issue of such endeavours as that proposed by Drake. His design, accordingly, seems in the end to have received her decided, though secret, approbation. In one record it is even stated that the famous navigator held the queen's commission—to show or withhold as he deemed best; but though there is no actual proof of this, there appears no reason to discredit the statement that, at a farewell interview, Elizabeth presented him with a sword, and at the same time used these emphatic words: "We do account that he which striketh at thee, Drake, striketh at us." It seems hardly likely that without some such warrant he would have gone forth so boldly, and struck so severely and so often at a power nominally at peace with England, as he did. Hence, whatever wrong-doing lay at Drake's door was shared equally by the queen.

The fleet—to the fitting out of which many friends and admirers contributed—was ostensibly prepared for a trading voyage to the Levant, towards which English merchants had of late been turning more than ordinary attention, in consequence of the wreck (about 1575) of an argosy from the Mediterranean off the Isle of Wight, which, it is said, caused the “ Venetians to refuse to bring merchandise into such dangerous seas.”¹ This pretence as to the destination of the fleet, however, did not deceive the Spaniards, if it did some less wary spirits at home. It consisted of five ships, the largest of which, named the *Pelican*, variously stated as being of one hundred and one hundred and twenty tons burden, was commanded by Drake. The others were the *Elizabeth*, a bark of eighty tons; the *Swan*, of fifty tons; the *Marygold*, thirty tons; and the *Christopher*, a pinnacle of fifteen tons. The *Benedict*, of twelve tons, accompanied the *Elizabeth*. In addition to these, the parts of four small vessels were taken out, to be set up as they were wanted. It is worthy of note that, like Columbus and Cook, Drake at all times preferred craft of small draft to ships of large and more unwieldy size, as more suitable “ for threading narrow and intricate channels and coasting unknown shores.” His little squadron was manned by crews numbering in all a hundred and sixty-four men, “ gentlemen and sailors ”²; and we are told by Vaux that he did not omit “ to make provision also for ornament and delight, carrying to this purpose with him expert musicians, rich

¹ *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant.*

² Hakluyt.

furniture (all the vessels for his table, yea, many belonging to the cook-room, being of pure silver), and divers shows of all sorts and curious workmanship, whereby the civility and magnificence of his native country might, among all nations whithersoever he should come, be the more admired."

Nor will it be amiss to give here a pen portrait of the man who did so much towards putting England in the right track for Empire. It was written by the captain and owner of a prize he took in the Pacific, Don Francisco de Cerate by name, in a letter to the Viceroy of New Spain, giving him an account of the capture. "The English general," wrote Don Cerate, "is the same who took Nombre de Dios some five years ago. He is a cousin of John Hawkins, and his name is Francis Drake. He is about thirty-five years old, of small size, with a reddish beard, and is one of the greatest sailors that exist, both from his skill and his power of commanding. His ship is of near four hundred tons, sails well, and has a hundred men, all in the prime of life, and as well trained for war as if they were old soldiers of Italy. Each one is especially careful to keep his arms clean. He treats them with affection, and they him with respect. He has with him nine or ten gentlemen, younger sons of the leading gentlemen in England, who form his council; he calls them together on every occasion, and hears what they have to say, but he is not bound by their advice, though he may be guided by it. He has no privacy; these of whom I speak all dine at his table. . . . The service is of silver, richly gilt, and en-

graved with his arms. He has, too, all possible luxuries, even to perfumes, many of which, he told me, were given him by the Queen. None of these gentlemen sits down or puts on his hat in his presence without repeated permission. He dines and sups to the music of violins. His ship carries thirty large guns, and a large quantity of all kinds of ammunition, as well as artificers who can execute necessary repairs.”¹

After being obliged to put back once from stress of weather, the expedition finally sailed from Plymouth on the 13th of December, 1577, reached Mogador on the 27th, and, continuing south, arrived off Cape Blanco on the 17th of January, 1578, capturing on the way several Spanish vessels. Proceeding thence to the Cape de Verde Islands, which they reached after six days' sail, the little fleet set forth on the 2d of February to cross the ocean, and on the 5th of April made the coast of Brazil, in S. lat. $31^{\circ} 30'$, and on the 14th anchored at the mouth of the River Plata, the place of rendezvous, in case of separation after leaving the Cape de Verde Islands. The next stopping-place of any importance was Port St. Julien, on the coast of Patagonia, S. lat. $49^{\circ} 30'$, which was reached on the 20th of June. Here, says one narrative, “we found a gibbet standing upon the maine, which we supposed to be the place where Magellan did execution upon some of his disobedient and rebellious company.”² It was an ominous sign; and within its shadow, before the fleet sailed again, on the 17th of August, three of the

¹ Peralta, quoted in the *Nat. Dict. Biog.* ² Hakluyt, vol. iii.

company found their earthly resting-place. Two men lost their lives in a conflict with the natives on the first arrival of the fleet, and Thomas Doughty, one of the leading men in the expedition and Drake's particular friend, was executed after trial for conspiracy and treason.

Before leaving Port St. Julien, the *Swan*, the *Christopher*, and a Portuguese prize, with which Drake had replaced the *Benedict*, being no longer seaworthy, were broken up for firewood, and on the 20th of August the squadron, now reduced to three ships, entered the Strait of Magellan, anchoring four days later thirty degrees within it. Here the "Captain-General," as it was the custom to call him, renamed his ship the *Golden Hind*, in honour of his friend and patron Sir Christopher Hatton. The dangerous navigation was completed by the beginning of September, and on the 6th of the month, Drake had the long-desiderated happiness of sailing an English ship on the South Sea; being the fourth person who had accomplished the passage. Moreover, he appears to have performed the arduous undertaking more quickly, and with better fortune, than either Magellan in 1520, or Loyasa and Ladrilleros, his more immediate successors, who went through the strait in 1526 and 1528 respectively. Nuno de Silva, a Portuguese pilot whom Drake had taken in one of his prizes and impressed into his service, and who wrote an account of the voyage,¹ puts the time spent in traversing the strait at only twelve days, but a more careful reckoning makes it sixteen,

¹ In Hakluyt.

when months had been occupied by more unskilful or less fortunate navigators. No sooner were the ships clear of the strait than they encountered storm after storm, against which the *Golden Hind* vainly struggled for upwards of fifty days. The *Marygold* was lost in the midst of it, and never heard of again. The *Elizabeth* found herself at the entrance to the channel again on the 8th of October, and her captain, Thomas Winter, weary of a voyage that up to the present appeared to have nothing but disaster, weakly gave up the game, and, against the wish and will of his comrades, made sail for home, reaching England on the 2d of June, 1579.

Meanwhile, the *Golden Hind*, separated from all her other companions,¹ and driven far to the south, "at length," to quote the words of an old narrator, "fell in with the uttermost part of land towards the South Pole, which uttermost cape or headland of all these islands stands near the fifty-sixth degree, without which there is no main nor island to be seen to the southwards, but the Atlantic Ocean and the South Sea meet in a large and free scope."² On the 28th of October the weather moderated, and the *Golden Hind* anchored in a week on the lee side of the most southerly of a group of islands to which Drake gave the name of the Elizabethides, in honour of his royal mistress. This island, upon which he landed, is thought by some to be the one of which

¹ The last to part from her was the sloop with eight men, one of whom only, after almost unheard of adventures, reached England after nine years' absence. See Purchas, *Pilgrims*, part iv.

² *World Encompassed*.
VOL. I—6

the southern point was subsequently named Cape Horn; but other geographers are of opinion that Drake, after passing the strait, was never so far east again as that point.

Slow, though steady, progress was made northwards, and on the 25th of November they anchored at Mocha, an island on the coast of Chili, in S. lat. $38^{\circ} 21'$. Here, after an initial encounter with the natives, in which two sailors were killed, and many, including Drake himself, wounded, they were able to supply themselves with provisions and water. A fisherman of the island also undertook to show them the way to Valparaiso, which they had oversailed by six leagues. Sailing on the 4th of December, they, the next morning, captured the *Grand Captain of the South*, in which were found sixty thousand pesos of gold—each peso reckoned worth eight shillings—besides “a great cross of gold beset with emeralds, on which was nailed a god of the same metal.” This was only the first of the many clutches of treasure, some more, some less in value, which they took as they sailed north, the very record of which soon become wearisome.

At Arica Drake obtained intelligence of “a vessel very richly laden,” but it escaped him. At Callao, on the 15th of February, he surprised seventeen Spanish vessels, though the spoil found in them was trifling. Here, however, the captain learned that some days previously—three, says Lopez Vas¹—the *Cacafuego*, laden with gold and silver, had sailed for Panama, whence the treasure was to go to Spain.

¹ In Hakluyt.

Cutting the cables of all the ships lying in the harbour, and allowing them to drift out to sea, so as to prevent them giving the alarm, Drake followed in all haste, and on the 1st of March, off Cape Francisco, came up with his predestined prize, which the same evening was captured without much difficulty. She was found to contain twenty-six tons of silver, thirteen chests of money, and eighty pounds of gold, besides "a certain quantity of jewels and precious stones"—in all valued at something like £200,000.¹

Drake ran out some distance to sea with his prize before venturing to unload her; and when he had secured the booty, he permitted the commander and his crew to continue their voyage, giving them a letter in which he recommended them to the good treatment of Captain Winter, should they fall in with him.

It is probable that Drake would now have made all haste homewards, if he could have assured himself of a safe passage by the strait of Magellan. But of that both the unfavourable season and the awakened vigilance of the Spaniards took away all hope. Under the circumstances, therefore, he appears to have conceived the idea of seeking a north-east passage homewards, and pursued his way north with the view of carrying out that intention.

On the 15th of March, the *Golden Hind* reached Nicaragua, and anchored in a small bay to refit and take in water. While here the pinnace sighted a

¹ Other estimates put the value of the uncoined silver alone at upwards of that amount.

small prize, which, amongst other booty, contained sea-cards or charts, which proved of great use to the captors in their subsequent navigations. On the 4th of April, they captured another valuable prize. This was the one previously mentioned from Acapulco, commanded by Don Francisco de Cerate, and laden with a rich cargo, wherefrom Drake took a quantity of silks, linen, delicate porcelain, and a "falcon of gold, handsomely wrought, with a gold emerald set in the breast of it," the vessel being then dismissed.

A negro and a pilot only were detained, the latter of whom steered the adventurers in to Guatalco, where, however, comparatively little booty was taken. Here all the prisoners on board the *Hind* were set at liberty, including the pilot, Nuno de Silva, who had been brought from the Cape de Verde Islands.

All this is repugnant reading to anyone with a nineteenth-century conscience; and one has continually to recall to mind the different conditions in which the world found itself in 1579, when the whole earth was, as it were, domineered by one power—a power drunk with fanaticism and gold—which was not satisfied with the possession of one hemisphere, from which it would fain have kept everyone except its own people, but already grasped at another, that within a few months was to fall into its insatiable grasp. Considering all this, however, as also the well-known fact that Spain's intention of attacking England was only delayed to a more convenient season, one's reprobation of deeds that have

so much the look of piracy is apt to change to feelings of only mildly qualified admiration. And when from "spoiling the Egyptian," Drake turned his ship's prow to the nobler work of exploration, we feel that he must be a grudging Englishman who cannot give him a full cargo of unstinted praise.

It was on the 26th of April that, quitting the scenes of his freebooting exploits, Drake pushed boldly to the north, with the object of finding the desired north-east passage. By the 3d of June, he had sailed fourteen hundred leagues, on different courses, without seeing land. The cold now became intense, and an unwillingness to venture into high latitudes sprang up amongst the crew. On the 5th, being driven in by a gale, a land fall was made, which proved to be the coast of America. This was in about N. lat. 13° . Running thence south, on the 17th of June the *Golden Hind* anchored in a good harbour, supposed by some to have been a creek in the Golden Gate of San Francisco Bay. The ship had some time before sprung a leak, and it was here found necessary to clear everything out of her that she might be repaired. Before leaving what he called New Albion, Drake received the homage of the natives in the name of Queen Elizabeth.

It would appear to have been here that, having relinquished the idea of the north-east passage, and fearing to encounter the risks of the Southern Strait, Drake formed the bold resolution of pushing across the Pacific and sailing to England by the Cape of Good Hope. Setting sail, therefore, on the 23d of

July, for sixty-eight days the keel of the *Golden Hind* ploughed the waters of the Pacific, running before a north-east wind without once having sight of land. Then, on the 30th of September, "we fell in ken of certain islands lying about eight degrees to the northward of the line."¹ Quitting these—supposed to be the Pelew Islands—on the 3d of October, they continued to run westwards, and on the 16th made the Philippines in N. lat. 7° 5', anchoring at Mindanao, where they watered on the 21st. Sailing thence the next day, and pursuing their journey towards the south, they anchored on the 4th of November, at Ternate, where they remained for some days, receiving the most generous hospitality, and "furnishing themselves with abundance of cloves, as much as they desired at a very cheap rate."

Having laid in a good supply of provisions, the voyagers left the Moluccas on the 9th of November, steering their course for Celebes. On their way thither they stopped at a small uninhabited island, which, from the number of land-crabs found upon it, they named Crab Island. Here the *Golden Hind* was cleaned out and given a thorough refitting, the ship's company, in the meanwhile, living in tents on the shore; "the place affording us," says Vaux, "not only all necessaries thereunto, but wonderful refreshing to our wearied bodies by the comfortable relief and excellent provision that there we found; whereby of sickly, weak, and decayed (as many of us seemed to be before our coming hither), we in

¹ Vaux.

short space grew all of us to be strong, lusty and healthful persons."

On the 12th of December, Crab Island was left behind, the adventurers standing westwards; but, becoming entangled among innumerable small islands and shoals, they had to turn their course in a southerly direction and proceed with the greatest care in order to keep clear of them. It was not until the ninth of January, 1580, that they seemed to have a clear way, and could direct their course again to the westward. But in the evening of the same day, "in the beginning of the first watch," while the *Golden Hind* was going full sail before a fair wind, they struck or were held fast "on a desperate shoal." Violent as was the shock, the ship had sprung no leak. The boats were immediately lowered to sound and see what could be done to get her off. The rock, however, shelved so abruptly that at the distance of a few yards no bottom could be found. Night came on, and was passed in great anxiety, and a second search, undertaken at dawn, only ended in more confirmed disappointment.¹ However, fortunate circumstances befriended them. No leak appeared; and though left by the ebb tide with only six feet of water, whereas, being so deeply laden, it required thirteen to float her, she was kept from heeling over by a strong breeze.

In this perilous situation, when it seemed as though nothing could save them from destruction, instead of giving themselves up to despair, Drake and his crew showed the coolness and resolution that is

¹ Hakluyt, vol. iii.

never wanting in British seamen in times of peril and disaster. "We stuck fast," says the original narrative,¹ "from eight of the clock at night till four of the clock in the afternoon of the next day, being, indeed, out of all hope to escape the danger; but our general, as he had always hitherto showed himself courageous, and of a good confidence in the mercy and protection of God, so now he continued in the same; and, lest he should seem to perish wilfully, both he and we did our best to endeavour to save ourselves, which it pleased God so to bless, that in the end we cleared ourselves most happily of the danger."²

They owed their salvation, however, rather to an act of Providence than to themselves. Having lightened the ship by throwing out several guns and some tons of merchandise, a sudden gust of wind blew her off the rocks, and she plunged into deeper water. This fortunate escape made them more wary in the future. But though they were for some weeks yet entangled in the intricate navigation of those seas, they finally emerged in safety, and reached Barative (Batjan) on the 8th of February. They were kindly received by the natives, and all their wants supplied. After a rest of two days, they pushed on again, and on the 12th of March reached the Island of Java, where they again found hospitable welcome. Here for a fortnight they enjoyed in continued festivities a well-earned respite from the labours and restraint of shipboard; then, after cleaning the ship's bottom and provisioning, they stood

¹ Hakluyt, vol. iii.

² *Ibid.*; Purchas, part i.

on for the Cape of Good Hope, which was safely doubled on the 15th of June.

It is here worthy of note that the Spaniards had not more magnified the dangerous navigation of Magellan's Strait than the Portuguese had exaggerated the storms which vex the southern extremity of Africa. So much was this the case, that the crew of the *Golden Hind* were surprised to find that in rounding this dreaded promontory—"a most stately thing, and the finest cape we saw in the whole circumference of the earth"—no violent tempests or other fearsome perils were met with.¹ They declared the accounts of the "Portugals to be most false"; and the bugbear of the "Cape of Storms" thus being blown away, the English navigators soon had many imitators.

On the 22d of July, Sierra Leone was reached. Water was taken in and fresh provisions, and the voyage continued on the 24th. Nothing else of importance happened until the "Famous Voyage" was brought to a close at Plymouth on the 26th of September, 1580, after a duration of two years and ten months.

¹ *Lives and Voyages of the Famous Navigators Drake and Cavendish.*





CHAPTER V.

FIRST ATTEMPTS AT COLONISATION.

ONE can with difficulty imagine the mingled feelings of excitement and surprise that were stirred throughout England when Drake, having accomplished his circumnavigation of the globe, sailed into Plymouth with the *Golden Hind* "very richly fraught with gold, silver, silks, pearls, and precious stones,"¹ and, we may add, with "goodly store" of cloves, and other spices, brought, as had never been done before, direct from the islands of the Indian Seas. To the majority of the people of that age, the feat outdid the fairy tales of romance—outdid almost the fabled enchantments of the necromancers. Indeed, the stories that gradually accumulated about Drake's name show that he was regarded somewhat in the light of a magician. Nor is it to be wondered at that such was the case, when we consider that with a ship no larger than many of the pleasure yachts of the present day, he entered the charmed region from whence the King of Spain drew the treasures with which he lorded it over the world, bearded his great

¹ Stow, p. 807.



QUEEN ELIZABETH KNIGHTING DRAKE ON BOARD THE "GOLDEN HIND" AT DEPTFORD,
APRIL 4, 1581.

(From a drawing by Sir John Gilbert, R. A.)

admirals and captains in their ports, and carried away what riches he pleased, thence making his way through, to him, unknown seas, and so doing what no Englishman had done before, doing also what Magellan himself had failed to accomplish in person—the running of a complete furrow around the earth.

But, notwithstanding the wealth and renown Drake had thus won, notwithstanding the fact that his return was hailed by the people at large as an event of national importance, yet there were not a few persons of standing and consequence who regarded his exploits as little better than common piracy. Others, who did not, perhaps, object to his doings from a moral point of view, did so as a matter of policy, representing that his spoliations must provoke reprisals, if not result in immediate war. Not much could be said on this point, however, considering the cost the country was put to to keep down the insurgents whom the King of Spain had raised against the Queen both in England and Ireland. This circumstance Elizabeth pointed out to Philip's ambassador when he came to her with complaints about Drake's doings, affirming that all the spoil he had brought home would not cover her cost in putting down such rebellion. At the same time she showed him that Philip, by placing barriers in the way of the commercial enterprise of her people, had brought the evil upon himself. "She knew not," she said "why her subjects and others were prohibited the Indies, which she knew no reason to think proper to the Spaniards, by virtue of the

Pope's bull (which could nothing oblige princes who owed him no obedience), nor by reason that the Spaniards had arrived here and there, had erected cottages, and given names to capes and rivers." ¹

It was, of course, to Elizabeth's interest to defer the impending hostilities between the two countries; hence, in order to mollify the ruffled feelings of Spain, and as a bribe for the continuance of peace, several sums were paid to a person who represented himself to be the agent of merchants whose goods had been annexed by the commander of the *Golden Hind*. But when it was found that this money went to subsidise Irish rebels and to pay Parma's troops in the Low Countries, Elizabeth threw aside all pretence of restitution, as well as her assumed coldness towards Drake, and soon after gave open countenance to the daring navigator, whose brilliant achievement had so suddenly raised England to a conspicuous position among the nations, as one that had dared to cut off the skirts of Spain.

If there had been any hesitation left in Philip's mind as to the expediency of a war with England, it was probably all dissipated when he heard of Elizabeth's visit in state to the *Golden Hind*, then lying at Deptford, of the banquet given to her on board, and of the honour of knighthood conferred upon Drake as a mark of her favour and esteem. In common parlance, it was a slap in the face to Spain, and the king took it as such. War was now regarded as inevitable; and the nation looked forward to it with a calm that, prior to Drake's achievement,

¹ Purchas, part iv., p. 1181.

would not have been possible. For already, not only had it inspired foreign nations with a high opinion of England's maritime power, but at home it had excited the greatest confidence, and the noblest emulation among the people. Thus it came about that even his detractors forgot to rail at his depredations in view of the now universal recognition of the service he had done to England in showing her the way to Spain's most vulnerable point, and in indicating to her, also, wherein her own indomitable strength must in the future lie.

But while the nation was thinking of and quietly preparing for probable war with Spain, other emulators of Drake's renown were at work in more peaceful directions. Notwithstanding the fact that Cabot had taken colonists to "Baccalaos," and that a collateral design of Frobisher's third voyage was to plant a colony of gold-seekers on the desolate shores of Labrador, the history of English colonisation may with truth be said to date from the year 1583, when the first abortive attempt was made to start a settlement in Newfoundland. Since the discovery of the island by the Cabots in 1497 little notice had been taken of it by English statesmen, or "of all that vast tract of land stretching from the Cape of Florida unto those vast islands which we now call Newfoundland; all which they—the Cabots—brought and annexed into the Crown of England."¹ It was visited by the Portuguese navigator, Gaspard de Cortereal, in 1500, and within two years after that time regular fisheries were conducted on

¹ Hakluyt, vol. iii.



its shores by the Portuguese, Biscayans, and French. Seventeen years later fifty Spanish, French, and Portuguese ships were engaged in this fishery. Englishmen do not seem to have attempted to obtain a share of the trade until 1536. Forty years later (1577), when foreigners were sending their hundred and fifty vessels to these Newfoundland fisheries, England was still only represented by fifteen ships, according to Hakluyt, who, however, gives as a probable reason for this the number of English who were then going to the Iceland fisheries.

This was probably the state of affairs when, in 1583, Sir Humphrey Gilbert set out on his ill-fated expedition. Gilbert was a Devonshire man, born about 1539, and half-brother to Sir Walter Raleigh. He was a man of education as well as of ideas; and, in 1576, had appeared his *Discourse on a North-west Passage to India*, which was published by George Gascoigne without his knowledge. Two years later he was granted a patent to "discover and occupy remote heathen lands not actually possessed by any Christian prince or people." In company with Raleigh, he set sail with eleven ships on this adventurous quest; but the expedition, the fitting out of which had cost both his own and his wife's fortune, did not prosper; and after some severe buffetings, both by storm and the Spaniards, it returned to England in 1579, with the loss of one of the best of the ships.

Nothing daunted, however, in the summer of 1583 Gilbert once more set out on his long-cherished project for the colonisation of Newfoundland, sail-

ing from Plymouth with five ships on the 11th of July. His fleet consisted of the *Delight*, the barque *Raleigh* (furnished by his half-brother), the *Golden Hind*, the *Swallow*, and the *Squirrel*. On the plea of sickness on board, Raleigh's barque put back to Plymouth almost immediately. All went well with the four remaining vessels until the 20th of July, when in a fog the *Swallow* and the *Squirrel* were lost sight of. Proceeding on his way with the two remaining vessels, Gilbert had his first landfall on the 30th of July near the Strait of Belle Isle, whence, following the coast to the south, he reached Conception Bay, and there found the *Swallow*. Holding still on his course, he arrived on the 3d of August in the harbour of St. John, where the *Squirrel* was discovered at anchor, together with thirty-six other ships, which were engaged in the fishing.

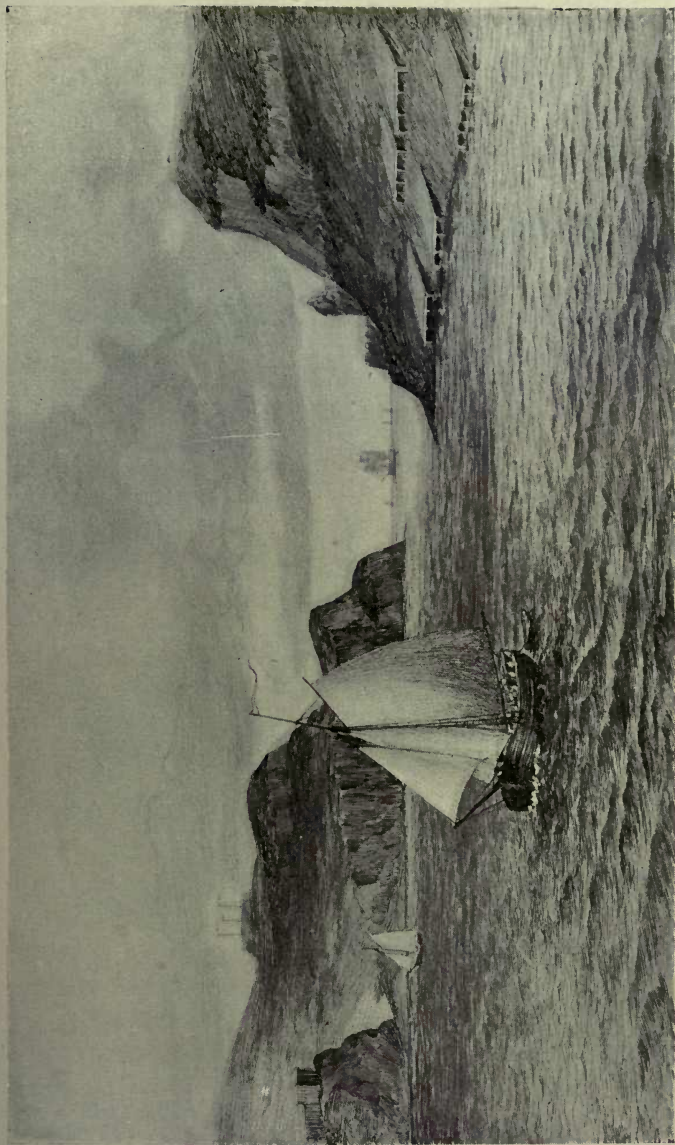
On the Monday following Gilbert took formal possession of the harbour in the name of the Queen, at the same time appropriating to himself, his heirs and assigns forever, two hundred leagues of land in every direction. He had brought with him some two hundred men with which to start his colony,¹ amongst whom were shipwrights, carpenters, masons, smiths, and such like; also mineral-men and refiners. Edward Haynes, master of the *Golden Hind*, to whom we are indebted for the account in Hakluyt, adds: "Besides, for solace of our people and allure-ment of the savages, we were provided of music in good variety; not omitting the least toys, as morris-

¹ Hakluyt.

dancers, hobby-horses, and May-like conceits to delight the savage people, whom we intended to win by all fair means possible. And to that end we were indifferently provided of all pretty haberdashery wares to barter with those people."

The newcomers, together with those they found in the harbour, who had built huts on shore at a place called The Garden, where they lived during the fishing season and cured their fish, constituted, as may be well imagined, a crew of the most mixed description. Many of them, we are told, "were lazy landsmen and sailors useless except at sea. Not a few had been taken out of English prisons and intended as servants to the colonists." It was, indeed, a colony of "raw adventurers" which Gilbert suddenly found himself governor of. "The best of them begged that they might be taken back to England, or anywhere, from the lawlessness with which Gilbert was unable to cope."

Such was the planting of the first English colony. One need not wonder that Gilbert, more a scholar and soldier than a navigator and man of affairs, speedily wished to be out of it. Leaving the *Swallow*, therefore, to carry home the sick and those who wished to wash their hands of this colonising experiment, he left St. John's with his other ships on the 20th of August, with the intention of exploring the coast with a view to colonisation further south. A week later they "fell in with the flats and shoals between Cape Breton Island and the edge of the Bank of Newfoundland, and on the 29th the *Delight*, their largest ship, struck aground, and was lost.



Much discouraged by this disaster, Gilbert turned the heads of his two remaining ships—the *Hind* and the *Squirrel*—for England, “intending a speedy return in the following spring.” At the moment of tacking about, there was seen “a great sea monster,” which Haynes quaintly describes as “a lion in the ocean sea, or a fish in the shape of a lion.” Gilbert took it for a “bonum omen, rejoicing that he was to war against such an enemy, if it was the devil.”

A few days later this heroic striver fought his “one fight more”; it was with death. He paid his last visit to the *Hind* on the 2d of September, after sighting Cape Race. He was besought by his friends and followers to stay on board and abandon his own smaller vessel. But he would not listen to their advice and returned to the ill-fated ten-ton *Squirrel*.

“On the 9th of September, in the afternoon,” continues Haynes’s account, “after emerging from a storm encountered to the south of the Azores, Gilbert was seen sitting abaft the *Squirrel*, with a book in his hand. As often as he came within hearing distance of the *Hind*, he was heard to utter the well-known words, ‘We are as near to Heaven by sea as by land.’ At midnight the watch on board the *Golden Hind*, observing the lights of the *Squirrel* to disappear suddenly, cried out, ‘The general was cast away,’ which was too true; for in that moment the frigate was devoured and swallowed up of the sea.”

No one will be prepared to deny that, in the words of the pious “Richard Hakluyt, preacher,”

Gilbert is "deserving honourable remembrance for his good mind and expense of life in so virtuous an enterprise."

So ended, for the time being, the attempt to settle Newfoundland; but the colonising spirit having been once awakened in England, it was not allowed to die out again, and from that time to the present England—or, more properly, Great Britain—has never ceased to send forth its colonising swarms.

The following year Raleigh took up the torch that fell from Gilbert's dying hand; but though he was unwearying in his efforts to plant an English colony in America, and is said to have spent a large fortune in his various attempts, something always happened to rob him of victory.

Raleigh was a Devonshire man, born at Hayes, near Budleigh Salterton, and is supposed to have been educated at Budleigh. Subsequently he spent some time at Oriel College, Oxford. He was there in 1572, but it is uncertain how long he remained in residence. In 1569 he had been a volunteer in the Huguenot army, and was present at the battle of Jarnac in March, and again at Moncontour. It is said that he remained in France for something like five years, though nothing further is known of his experiences there, except that he states in his *History of the World* that he saw Catholics smoked out of the caves of the Languedoc hills. It has been conjectured that he may have been in Paris the day of the massacre of St. Bartholomew (August 24, 1572).

As we have already seen, Raleigh, in conjunction with Gilbert, went on a "voyage of discovery" with eleven ships in 1578, but achieved nothing, and was back again in the following spring. Then, after some active service in Ireland, he spent several years at court, receiving marks of favour from the Queen, out of all proportion, as would seem, to any services that he could have rendered in the time. He was granted patents and monopolies, given enormous quantities of land in Ireland, and estates in Lincolnshire and other English counties, appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Cornwall, Vice-Admiral of Cornwall and Devon, and, what was perhaps more important, Captain of the Queen's Guard, which required his immediate attendance on the Queen's person.

But he was of too active a spirit to be satisfied with mere dalliance at Court when there was so much stirring abroad, and so, conceiving the idea of a settlement in a milder climate than that of Newfoundland, he obtained from the Queen a patent to discover unknown lands, to take possession of them in his sovereign's name, and to hold them for six years. This was granted in March, 1584, and in April he sent out vessels under the command of Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlow. Taking the southern route by the West Indies to the coast of Florida, they made land a little south of Cape Hatteras. Coasting thence northwards, and entering the Oregon inlet, they took possession of the land in the Queen's name; and having discovered and named Pamlico, Albemarle Sound and Roanoke,



they returned (in September) with such pleasing reports that Elizabeth gave to the region the name Virginia, which for many years was applied to the whole seaboard from Florida to Newfoundland.

In the following year Raleigh sent out a new expedition composed of seven vessels, carrying out a hundred and eight colonists, under the command of his cousin, Sir Richard Grenville, with Ralph Lane as governor of the colony and Thomas Harriot as surveyor. It sailed from Plymouth on the 29th of April, and on the 26th of June anchored at Wocakon. Grenville soon after returned to England. The colonists, instead of setting to work to build and plant, wasted their time in exploring the country, trusting for supplies to the Indians, who soon determined to get rid of the strangers by leaving the ground unsown. This roused the fears of the English, who, dreading an assault, resolved to secure their own safety by an act of inexcusable treachery. They admitted the king and his attendants to a parley, and Lane giving the signal, "Christ our victory!" the company of natives were massacred on the spot. But the colonists were a poor lot, good-for-nothings for the most part, who had failed at home, and had been sent out to be got rid of by their friends. This was the mistake made in most of the early attempts at colonisation, but was only found out after repeated failures. In the present instance the colonists do not appear to have done a single thing to found a settlement, and when Sir Francis Drake, coming from the West Indies, sailed into the harbour with three ships, they were all glad to ob-



tain a passage home again. Thus ended the first English colony on the mainland of America. But, though the settlement proved such a failure, there has ever been a popular belief that it was to these would-be colonists of Virginia that we owe the introduction of tobacco and potatoes into England. That both of these necessities of modern daily life were known in England very soon after this date appears certain, but whether they were actually introduced by the people who came home in Drake's ships is very doubtful, especially as regards the "Indian weed," respecting which, in Thomas Harriot's narrative, published in February, 1587—seven months, therefore, after their return—we are told that "the use of it (tobacco) by so many, of late, men and women of great calling, as els, and some learned physicians also, is sufficient witnesse of the vertues thereof."¹

The reason of Drake being able to give the colonists his aid was that on the 14th of September, 1585, he had sailed from Plymouth with a fleet of twenty-five ships to harry the common enemy in the West Indies. Since his last voyage was commenced, the relations between England and Spain had taken a large bound forward towards open and declared war. Two events, besides Drake's raid on the Western coasts of America, had tended to this result. One was that Philip, on the death of King Sebastian of Portugal, in 1580, had seized that kingdom, and thereby almost doubled his power, and hence the formidableness of his standing threat

¹ Hakluyt, vol. iii.

against England. For while in her right hand, as it were, Spain held the Western Continent, the conquest of her own sword, in her left she grasped the wide dominions of Portugal, that lay scattered like jewels along the coasts of Africa and India, and among the islands of the Eastern seas. The Portuguese trade which Philip had thus annexed was equal, if not superior, to that of Spain, while the fleet that it had called into existence was the only one which then rivalled his own.¹ Moreover, as regards jealousy of strangers sharing in their trade, there was nothing to choose between the two peoples.

The other event that tended to precipitate open hostilities between Philip and Elizabeth was the alliance the Queen had entered into with the United Provinces against the Spanish monarch, and incidentally, the seizure at Plymouth of a Spanish ship containing money destined to pay Philip's troops under Parma. The King of Spain retaliated by laying an embargo upon all English ships and property within his dominions. Elizabeth, with less timidity than she had hitherto shown, replied by authorising such of her subjects as had sustained any loss, to indemnify themselves by seizing whatever ships or merchandise belonging to Spaniards might happen to fall in their way.

Taking advantage of this permission, Drake, in conjunction with Sir Philip Sidney, planned an expedition against the Spanish colonies, the arrangement being that one should direct the land, and the

¹ Froude, *History of England*.

other the sea forces.¹ Sidney, however, was compelled by the Queen's express command, to withdraw from the project, his services being required in the Netherlands, where, in the following year, he met with so glorious a death. The original design is said to have included the establishment of a settlement in Tierra Firma, but this idea appears to have been dropped on the withdrawal of Sidney. Of the twenty-five vessels composing the armament, two were Queen's ships. Drake commanded in the *Elizabeth Bonaventure*, and had Martin Frobisher as his Vice-Admiral in the *Primrose*, Francis Knolleys as Rear-Admiral in the *Leicester*, while Christopher Carlile, as Lieutenant-General of the land forces, sailed in the *Tiger*, the forces under him numbering two thousand. The course of the fleet was first directed towards Spain, where, cruising along the coast, Drake captured some small vessels, in one of which were found a quantity of plate and an immense silver crucifix belonging to the cathedral of Vigo. Proceeding next to the Cape de Verde Islands, St. Jago was taken and burnt in requital of the cruel murder of a boy and other treacherous dealings with English seamen. The fleet then crossed over to the West Indies, and after watering at Dominica, spent the Christmas at St. Christopher's. On New Year's Day, 1586, St. Domingo was taken, and would have been completely destroyed but for the payment of a ransom of twenty-five thousand ducats (about £7000).

An incident occurred here which affords a striking

¹ *Memoirs and Letters of the Sidneys*, by Collins, vol. ii.



illustration of Drake's unflinching resolution and energy. A negro boy, sent with a flag of truce, was met by some Spanish officers, one of whom pierced him through with a spear. Although mortally wounded, the lad was able to make his way back; but while describing the inhuman treatment he had received, he fell down at his master's feet and died. Regarding the act as an insult to his flag, Drake ordered the provost-marshal to hang two unfortunate monks on the spot where the outrage had been committed. A third prisoner was then sent to inform the inhabitants that, so long as they had any captives in their hands, two would be executed every day until the guilty person was given up. Next day the criminal was surrendered; and that his punishment might be the more exemplary, his own countrymen were compelled to carry out the execution.¹

From St. Domingo the expedition sailed to Carthagena, which, though bravely defended, was taken by a united attack on land and sea, and, after being held for six weeks, and many houses destroyed, it was ransomed for one hundred and ten thousand ducats. A larger fine would have been exacted but that the fleet was being decimated by yellow fever, so that the commander found it necessary to hasten his departure. So terrible was the malady, and so demoralising its effects on nearly all, that it was only "Drake's personal influence, courage, and energy," that kept the fleet together.² Such, indeed, was the mortality that a projected attempt on

¹ Hakluyt, vol. iii.

² Drake, *Nat. Dict. Biog.*

Nombre de Dios and Panama, "there to strike the stroke for the treasure," of which they had hitherto been disappointed, had to be abandoned. The squadron, therefore, sailed for the coast of Florida, which was reached towards the middle of May. Proceeding north, they harried and burnt several small Spanish settlements, taking what plunder they could get, and finally, making Virginia, took off Raleigh's unfortunate colonists, and standing across the Atlantic, arrived at Portsmouth on the 28th of July, bringing with them two hundred and forty cannon and £16,000 in prize-money.

Although the booty was nothing like what had been expected, a severe blow had been dealt at Spanish trade, as well as at the prestige of the mother country. The effect might have been still more decisive could Elizabeth have been induced to come to a complete rupture with Spain, and especially, as was pointed out afterwards, if the places taken by Drake and his companions had been kept and defended. Had such been done, it was Monson's idea that the subsequent war would have been diverted "from this part of Europe."¹

A few days after Drake had carried away the first colony from Virginia, a ship arrived from England with stores, and a fortnight later Sir Richard Grenville came with three well-laden ships. Disappointed to find that the place had been deserted, he left fifteen men to keep possession of Roanoke, and, in August, returned to England. On the way home Grenville fell in with a richly laden Spaniard, which

¹ Monson, *Naval Tracts*.

he took, he and his men boarding her by means of a hastily constructed raft that fell to pieces as they leapt from it to the deck of the enemy.

The same year (1585) a company of noblemen and gentlemen sent out two barques under John Davis in quest of the North-west passage. He sailed as far north as the seventy-third degree of latitude, discovering the strait which bears his name, and exploring the shore on either side. Anchoring then under a "brave mount, the cliffes whereof were as orient as golde," which he named Mount Raleigh, and having discovered Gilbert's Island and Cumberland Strait—not a bad bit of work for one summer—he returned home. In the

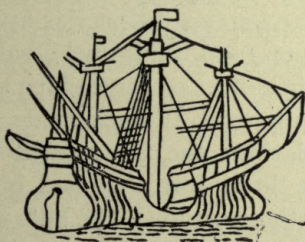


DAVIS'S QUADRANT.

following year Davis made an attempt to penetrate to the Pacific at a point further to the south; while, in 1587, he again ascended the strait he had discovered two years before, but with no better results than at first. In these attempts Davis was assisted by Burleigh, Walsingham, and others of the Queen's ministers, as well as the leading merchants. Davis was one of the best and most practical seamen of his time, and besides enlarging

the bounds of geographical knowledge and giving his name to the strait between the southern part of Greenland and the American continent, he was the inventor of an improved quadrant, which bore his name, and was the one generally in use until the invention of Hadley's quadrant. The accompanying illustration shows the form of the instrument and the way in which observations were made by it.¹

¹ From J. Seller's *Practical Navigation*, 1594.





CHAPTER VI.

THE SECOND ENGLISH CIRCUMNAVIGATION.

NOTHING daunted by the failure of his previous efforts to found a colony in Virginia, Raleigh decided to make another attempt. Harriot's description had convinced him of the natural richness of the country, and he resolved to establish an agricultural colony. Accordingly, in the summer of 1587, another and larger expedition was fitted out under the command of John White, who was named governor. The little fleet of three ships arrived off the mainland in July, and at once made for Roanoke, hoping to find there the fifteen men Grenville had left. But the little fort that had been built had been razed to the ground. The huts were standing, but were overgrown with melon-vines; white human bones lay scattered about the place. This was all the trace they found of the little colony.

Raleigh had given orders that a town should be built on Chesapeake Bay, but the Admiral of the fleet—a passionate, wilful man, according to White's account, much given to swearing, "tearing God to pieces"—refused his co-operation, and the governor

was compelled to change the site to Roanoke. The fleet remained little more than a month; but during that time the hostility between the colonists and the Indians broke out again with renewed fury. The little party already began to lose heart; the fertility of the soil was forgotten in the gloom of the forests, and as the time arrived for the ships to sail, the colonists with one voice begged White to return to England and ask for further supplies. Whether he did or did not do right in thus leaving the little colony of which he was governor at such a critical state of its existence, is a difficult question to decide at this distance of time; but his action does not strike one as being that of a man who has a stern sense of the duty laid upon him. Just before his departure, his daughter, wife to Ananias Dare, one of the governor's "assistants," according to the charter of incorporation, gave birth to a daughter, who, being the first child of English parents born in Virginia, was named Virginia Dare.

When White reached England, the country was in a ferment from one end to the other in preparation to resist the threatened Spanish invasion, while every available ship in her ports was pressed, in one capacity or another, into the naval service. There was no time at such a crisis to give much heed to the poor little Virginian colony. After a great deal of importunity, however, White was enabled to sail (April, 1588) with two small pinnaces well filled with supplies; but, a few leagues north of the island of Madeira, they were so mauled in an encounter with Spaniards that they were obliged to put back to

England,¹ where for months the governor had to supplicate and plead before he could get any more attention paid to the needs of the distant settlement.

While these events were taking place in Virginia, Drake was busy on the coast of Spain, brought thither by the rumour of the formidable armament that was being fitted out by Philip for the invasion of England. In a spirit of patriotism, not uncombined with a keen eye to personal profit, the merchants of London had equipped at their own expense twenty-six vessels; and these, together with four ships and two pinnaces added by the Queen, had been placed under Drake's command. The squadron sailed from Plymouth in the beginning of April, 1587, and on its way to Spain the commander learned from two Dutch vessels that a fleet was lying at Cadiz ready to sail for Lisbon with provisions and ammunition for the Armada. On the strength of this intelligence, Drake at once made for Cadiz, and there, in the course of one day and two nights, he had the satisfaction either of destroying or capturing shipping to the extent of something like ten thousand tons burthen, that, but for his enterprise and daring, would have subserved the purposes of invasion, if they had not been actually engaged in the work itself.

Having thus "sing'd the Spanish king's beard," as Drake afterwards jocularly referred to this exploit, whereby he delayed for a year the threatened invasion, and probably ensured its final discomfiture,

¹ Hakluyt.

the Commander set sail for the Azores, where he understood, from private information that had been conveyed to him, that the *San Filipe*, a Portuguese carrak from the East Indies, was about this time expected to arrive.¹ There was some disinclination in his fleet to this prolongation of the voyage, but Drake persevered, and soon had the satisfaction of conveying home in triumph the most valuable prize that had yet been taken. But the cargo, though enormously rich, is said to have been of far less value to the English merchants than the papers found in her; for from these they obtained so thorough an insight into the methods of the Portuguese in their East Indian trade that they were soon enabled to acquire a share of that lucrative traffic, and so to lay the foundation of the famous company to which Great Britain owes the beginning of her imperial dominions in the East.²

It behoves us now to turn our gaze for an instant from the march of events nearer home, and follow another of England's "star worthies" in his course round the world. For six years had barely elapsed since Drake's encompassing of the globe ere he had an emulator in Thomas Cavendish, or Candish, as he is more generally called in the earlier annals. The scion of an old Suffolk family, Cavendish early took to the sea, and appears to have accompanied the expedition to Virginia under Sir Richard Grenville in 1582, in a vessel equipped at his own expense. Though the voyage was unproductive of gain, it brought the young commander in contact with men

¹ Hakluyt, vol. ii.

² Monson, *Naval Tracts*.

who had sailed with Drake in the Pacific, and so fired his spirit with the desire to emulate that great navigator's renown that he could not rest until he had set forth on a similar voyage.¹

Grenville's fleet returned to England in October, and before many months had passed Cavendish had, at his own expense, equipped three ships for his projected voyage. They were the *Desire* of one hundred and twenty tons burthen, in which he sailed as Admiral, the *Content*, of sixty tons, and the *Hugh Gallant*, a barque of forty tons, carrying in all a crew of one hundred and twenty-three soldiers, seamen, and officers. Through the recommendation of Lord Hunsdon, Cavendish received licence from the Queen to cruise against her enemies, and thus provided he set sail from Plymouth on the 21st of July, 1585.² After touching at Sierra Leone, the little fleet struck across the Atlantic, and on the 31st of October reached Cape Frio, in Brazil, anchoring the following day off the island of St. Sebastian. After a refit, and taking in fuel, the voyage was resumed (November 23d), and on the 17th of December, "a harbour almost as large as Plymouth," known to this day as Port Desire, was discovered. Here Cavendish spent Christmas, "studying the manners and arts of the Patagonians." Sailing thence on the 28th, the opening of the Strait of Magellan was reached on the 3d of January, 1587, and the dangerous navigation thereof commenced on the 6th. On the following day, Cavendish spoke with a party of eighteen starving Spaniards on the

¹ Camden.

² Hakluyt, vol. iii.

North shore of the strait. They were the miserable remnant of two unfortunate colonies, composed of four hundred persons, which had been planted in the strait by Pedro Sarmiento in consequence of Drake's ravages in the South Sea seven years before. They were designed to command the strait and prevent any foreign ships from passing; but after three years these poor creatures were all that were left of the colonists, and they, deserted by Spain, and at the point of starvation, were making their way overland to the River Plate. Cavendish offered them a passage to Peru, but, with the exception of one man, Tomé Hernandez, they hesitated to trust themselves to the strangers until it was too late, and the wretched mortals were left to their fate.

On the 9th, Cavendish touched at the deserted city of San Felipe, among the ruins of which were seen the bodies of several Spaniards lying "where they had died like dogs." He gave to the place the name of Port Famine, a designation which it still retains. A stay of several days was made here, and then the voyage was resumed, the passage of the straits being finally accomplished after more than six weeks of hardship and peril, the company for a month feeding on mussels, limpets, birds, and whatever of the kind they could take.¹

For a time, after leaving the strait, the two larger ships were parted from the *Hugh Gallant*; but on the 15th of March they were all reunited at the island of Mocha, on the coast of Chili. Sailing

¹ Hakluyt.

thence on the 18th, they reached the Bay of Quintero, a little to the north of Valparaiso, on the last day of the month. Here Cavendish landed with thirty men, accompanied by Hernandez, the man they had brought from the strait, who, being sent to open negotiations for provisions with three mounted Spaniards, sprang up behind one of his countrymen, whereupon all instantly rode away, and, it is supposed, gave the alarm to the inhabitants all along the coast.

It is needless to follow the adventurers through all their plunderings and burnings from Chili to Mexico. Suffice it to note that, on the 16th and 17th of May, they captured three ships, one of which was worth £20,000; that three days later they took and burned Payta, obtaining much spoil; and that on the 9th of July, on the coast of Guatemala, a ship was seized of one hundred and twenty tons, piloted by a Frenchman named Michel Sanctus, who informed them of a great prize that was on its way from the Philippines. Continuing their course northwards, every thought was now given to the taking of this prize. Finally, on the 14th of October, Cape San Lucas was made; and having resolved to lie in wait here for the Manila ship, Cavendish continued cruising in the vicinity until the 14th of November, when between seven and eight in the morning the watch in the maintop of the *Desire* reported that a sail was standing for the cape. After a chase of some hours she was come up with, and proved to be the object of their search, the *Santa Anna*, of seven hundred tons, richly

laden, on her way from the Philippines to New Spain.¹ A broadside, followed by a volley of small shot, was poured into the galleon, and then the order was given to board; but the attempt to carry her was repulsed with the loss of two men killed and several wounded. “But for all this,” says Francis Petty, who was an eye-witness, and whose account is in Hakluyt, “we now trimmed our sails and fitted every man his furniture, and gave them a fresh encounter with our great ordnance, and also with our small shot, raking them through and through, to the killing and maiming of many of their men. Their captain still, like a valiant man, with his company, stood very stoutly unto his close fights, not yielding as yet. Our general, encouraging his men afresh with the whole noise of trumpets, gave them the third encounter with our great ordnance and all our small shot, to the great discomforting of our enemy, raking them through in divers places, killing and spoiling many of their men. They being thus discomforted, and spoiled, and their ship being in hazard of sinking by reason of the great shot which were made, whereof some were under water, within five or six hours’ fight, set out the flag of truce and parled for mercy, desiring our general to save their lives and to take their goods, and that they would presently yield. Our general, of his goodness, promised them mercy, and willed them to strike their sails, and to hoise out their boat and to come aboard; which news they were full glad to hear of, and presently struck their sails,

¹ *Biographia Nautica*, vol. iv.

hoysed their boat out, and one of their chief merchants came aboard unto our general, and falling down upon his knees, offered to have kissed our general's feet, and craved mercy. Our general most graciously pardoned both him and the rest, upon promise of their true dealing with him and his company concerning such riches as were in the ship; and sent for the captain and their pilot, who, at their coming, used the like duty and reverence as the former did." ¹

The prize was carried into the neighbouring harbour of Aguada Segura, where the prisoners were landed, and the treasure divided between the crews of the two ships (the *Hugh Gallant* having been previously sunk on the coast of Peru).

Besides a rich cargo of silks, satins, damasks, wine, musk, and other stores, the galleon yielded one hundred and twenty-two thousand pesos of gold (about £49,000). In all there were six hundred tons of richest merchandise, of which only forty tons could be taken for each ship, they being already full. The rest, together with the galleon, was set on fire. The division of the booty gave rise to a good deal of dissatisfaction, particularly among the crew of the *Content*; and as, on leaving the bay, this ship, which was commanded by Stephen Hare, dropped astern of her consort, and was never again seen or heard of, it is supposed that the company, dissatisfied with their commander, resolved to desert him, and return by the Strait of Magellan, and that they perished in the attempt.

¹ Hakluyt, vol. iii. The spelling is modernised.

The *Desire*, thus left alone, struck boldly across the Pacific, holding a south-westerly course until the twelfth or thirteenth degree of latitude was attained, when, steering due west, and favoured by fair winds, after forty-five days' sailing, the island of Guana (or Guajan), one of the Ladrões, was sighted. There they met with a reception very similar to that given to Magellan on their first discovery sixty-seven years before. On the 15th of January, while anchored off the island of Capul, at the south end of Luzon, one of the Philippines, a Spanish pilot whom Cavendish had taken off one of his prizes, was hanged for treacherously writing a letter to be sent to the governor of Manila, informing him how the English ship could be taken.¹ About the middle of February, the voyagers passed near the Moluccas, but did not touch at any of the islands; and on the 5th of March put into a bay on the south side of the island of Java, where they were well received both by the natives and by some Portuguese, who had established a factory there. The latter were delighted to hear of the havoc that Cavendish had made among the Spanish shipping in the South Sea. For, though Philip had annexed Portugal and all her possessions, he had not been able to win the affections of the people.

Nearly forty days were spent, after quitting Java, "in traversing the mightie and vaste sea between the yle of Java and the maine of Africa,"² the Cape of Good Hope being doubled on the 16th of May. After a stay of twelve days, to clean and provision,

¹ Hakluyt, vol. iii.

² Hakluyt, vol. iii.

at St. Helena—this being the first discovery of the island to the English, although the Portuguese had been established there eighty years—Cavendish



SIR THOMAS CAVENDISH.

shaped his course for England, and arriving off the Lizard on the 3d of September, was there informed by a Flemish vessel from Lisbon of the defeat of the Armada, to their singular "rejoicing and com-

fort." After encountering a storm that lasted four days, in which they lost the greater part of their sails, "they recovered," says one of the three narrators of the voyage, "by the merciful favour of the Almighty, the long-wished-for port of Plymouth" on the 9th of September, 1588,¹ having thus completed the "circumpasse" of the globe in two years and fifty days—a much shorter space of time than either Drake or Magellan had done theirs in.

It is said that when the *Desire* sailed into Plymouth her sails were of damask, her crew arrayed in silk, and her topmast covered with cloth of gold. How much exaggeration there may be in this account cannot now, of course, be decided, but it has been suggested in explanation of the damask sails, that in the absence of less costly materials, Cavendish may have replaced his lost sails by Indian damask, or by canvas made of the silk-grass of the South Sea, which, from its lustrous appearance might easily be mistaken for silk. But it is not altogether improbable—for Elizabeth's age was one of "pomp and circumstance"—that such ostentation may have been put on to make a gallant show. However it arose, the famous navigator got the repute of having sailed to London in a demon ship with golden prow and parti-coloured sails.²

The fame of Cavendish's adventure, together with the treasure he brought with him—"enough to buy

¹ Hakluyt, vol. iii. Purchas, part i.

² Hakluyt, vol. iii. Suarez de Figueroa, quoted in Southey's *Naval History*, vol. iii. "*Uno demum navigio auratâ prorâ et versi-coloribus velis Londinum navigavis.*"

a fair earldom"—almost rivalled the renown of his predecessor's daring exploit. His voyage, however, was not marked by the humanity which invariably characterised Drake's dealings with the enemy. He was sailing, it is true, under a Royal commission, and against the open enemies of the country, but these circumstances do not lessen the reproach of many of his barbarous deeds. It is evident from three contemporaneous accounts of the circumnavigation, that it attracted a great deal of attention, not merely from the fact that it was one of the most daring of many voyages of reprisal upon the hated enemy, but because, along with the papers found on the *San Filipe*, it helped to turn the eyes of English merchants to the East, and invited them to partake of its riches. In a letter to Lord Hunsdon, giving an account of his expedition, Cavendish writes, after speaking of the "stateliness" of the Philippines and their "incomparable wealth": "I sailed along the islands of the Maluccos, where among some of the heathen people I was well entertained, where our countrymen may have trade as freely as the Portugues, if they will themselves."¹

¹ Hakluyt.





CHAPTER VII.

THE ARMADA.

WE now come to an event which ranks as one of the decisive turning-points of history. From the Armada, as from the battle of Hastings and the fight at Naseby, English history seems to take a fresh start. A series of efforts and tendencies were brought to a culmination at that juncture in a fateful cast of the die, and the hazard being lost and won, a new game had to be entered upon. It cannot be said that any one or two, or even three, causes led to the attempted invasion of England by Spain. There had been numberless irritations on both sides, beginning on the part of England in the repudiation of Queen Katherine by Henry VIII., and ending in the execution of Mary Stuart by Elizabeth, together with the increasing effrontery of the attacks on Spanish commerce by freebooters and privateers. The death of the Scottish Queen, by giving momentary unity to the English Catholics—soon to be dissipated—appeared to make the way clearer to Philip, to whom Mary had bequeathed her right to the Crown. But it is doubtful whether that alone—ambitious as Philip was to add England

to his possessions—would have been sufficient inducement to act if it had not been backed by Drake's provocations. His "devilish" triumphs forced the conviction on the King's mind that without the subjugation or thorough crippling of the power of England, he could never count upon the security of his dominions either East or West. For not only had Elizabeth's "sea-dogs" for years been doing him irretrievable damage and detriment wherever a sail could plough its way, but their audacity and success had emboldened the Queen and her Ministers to give open succour and support to his rebellious subjects in Flanders, where an English army, under Sir John Norris, was at present co-operating with them against the Prince of Parma. Nevertheless, it would seem as though Philip would rather have come to terms with Elizabeth, if he could have had his own way, than be obliged to fight. But it was only too evident that, however long war might have been deferred, it must come to that in the end; and so, urged on by Parma on the one hand, and on the other by Santa Cruz, one of the greatest seamen Spain had produced, and the victor over the French at the Azores in 1583, he finally yielded, and preparations were hurried forward in every part of the Peninsula. How the enterprise was sanctioned by the Pope and preached almost into the importance of a crusade by bigotry and by superstition need not be dwelt upon here.

There was no secret about Spain's enormous preparations; all Europe was talking about the war-cloud that was gathering in the harbour of Cadiz and at

Lisbon, and speculating as to what it might portend to the world in general. To the Protestants all over Europe it was an anxious time, and well might they watch with almost suspended breath to see how England would stand the encounter of such a gigantic power as that which Spain could wield. No doubt they breathed somewhat freer after Drake's masterly stroke in burning the eighteen galleons at Cadiz, and then, after an attack on Corunna, going quietly to repeat the dose in the Tagus, where lay a still larger collection of galleons and other craft in preparation for the great emprise. Elizabeth thought he had done enough, however, and called him off, still imagining, apparently, that amicable arrangements might be come to.

This last stroke, however, seems to have stung Spanish pride to the quick, and, notwithstanding the peace negotiations still going on at Ostend, Parma was instructed to be ready for an order to join in the premeditated attack on England at any moment. His part of the plan was to collect at Dunkirk an army of seventeen thousand men and a flotilla of flat-bottomed boats to carry them over under cover of the fleet. Philip led him to suppose that he might expect an order in December, and he pushed on his preparations. Meanwhile one cause of delay after another occurred—winter storms, for one thing—and then in January, when everything seemed ready for a start, the death of the commander-in-chief, Santa Cruz, broken-hearted, it was afterwards said,¹ at the repeated delays in carrying

¹ Froude, *The Spanish Story of the Armada*.
VOL. I—9

out a project whereon he had for years set his mind, and upon which, in spite of his seventy-three years, he was still eager to embark. Then Philip, always cautious, if not timid, was dubious of France; but by the spring the fortunes of the Holy League were in the ascendant, the King being in its power, so that at length the auspices appeared favourable for the Armada to sail. Even then, according to the Spanish account, further delay was occasioned by the necessity of getting in fresh stores in place of much that had gone bad through having lain in the ships for months. Finally, however, on the 19th of May—the 29th according to our present reckoning—everything was ready, and the greatest fleet that the world had hitherto seen weighed and stood out to sea.

It must have been an imposing sight to behold that mighty armament sailing from the Tagus; and no doubt, as it began to stir under the airs of heaven and with the motion of the tides, many a bosom thrilled both aboard and ashore at the thought of the ostensibly pious object of the expedition, which, in the words of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, the Commander-in-chief, was “to recover countries to the Church now oppressed by the enemies of the faith.” It consisted of a hundred and thirty or thirty-two ships, seven of them being galleons of over a thousand tons’ burthen, and sixty-seven over five hundred. According to the latest estimate, they carried 2431 guns, though they were for the most part small; while the human freight, for fighting and other purposes, amounted to over thirty

thousand men. Of these upwards of eight thousand were seamen, nearly nineteen thousand were soldiers, the remainder being made up of volunteers, galley-slaves to row the galleys and galleasses, priests, and so forth.

The fleet was divided into six squadrons, each with its Vice-Admiral, all of whom appear to have been experienced men. Several of them were veterans who had distinguished themselves in service. Among these were Don Juan Martinez de Recalde, of the Biscay squadron ; Don Pedro de Valdez, of the squadron of Castile ; his cousin, Don Diego de Valdez, Vice-Admiral of the Andalusian squadron, appointed by the King to be the Duke's right-hand man and chief adviser ; and Don Miguel de Oquendo, Vice-Admiral of the squadron of Guypuscoa. Another name deserving of mention is that of Don Alonzo de Levya, a man, like Recalde, Pedro de Valdez, and Oquendo, of high qualities, beloved by every one in the fleet, and appointed to succeed the Duke in case of mishap. He had charge of the land forces, and in his ship, the *Rata Coronada*, sailed most of the volunteers, who included the flower of the Spanish nobility. It was, perhaps, unfortunate for Spain that there should have been so many of such high degree, because it was, we are told, on account of the large number of noble volunteers in the expedition—marquises, earls, and the like—who “ would have refused to have been commanded by a man of less quality than themselves,”¹ that the Duke of Medina Sidonia was appointed to succeed

¹ Monson, *Naval Tracts*.

Santa Cruz. And of all the officers in this ill-fated expedition this Royal favourite appears to have been the least fitted for the post. The crime of the appointment, however, lay at Philip's door, not at his, he having repeatedly begged the King to give the command to some one better qualified to hold it than himself.

The Armada had no sooner left the Tagus than its misfortunes began. The weather was against them; and after beating about for the best part of a month, making no progress, a storm compelled those who could to take shelter in Ferrol. Others were dispersed, some having got as far as the Scilly Isles; but by the end of June all were gathered together again. The natural dejection which these reverses had thrown upon the commander disappeared under improving auspices, and with renewed provisions and water-casks the expedition again set sail on Friday the 12th of July.

What, in the meantime, was England doing? Philip's preparations were answered by efforts no less strenuous and determined on the part of Elizabeth and her Ministers. Three armies, estimated on paper to make a total of upwards of seventy thousand men, were ordered to muster in July. The largest of the three, assembled at Tilbury under Leicester. Possibly, in an encounter with Parma's seasoned troops these hasty levies might have fared ill, although the militia were not so unprepared as might have been expected, considerable attention having been given to their training and organisation ever since Spain's attitude had become threatening.

Hence, had Parma been fortunate enough to effect a landing, he would have found his way to London, to seize which, by Philip's orders, was to be his first object, barred by a force superior to his own. Philip and his advisers, however, calculated upon a rising of the Catholics, but, as it turned out, foolishly, patriotism in the end proving stronger than fanaticism, and the old English love of freedom deeper than religious bigotry.

Of the English sea forces, numbering in all a hundred and ninety-seven vessels, only thirty-four were Royal ships, and comparatively few beyond these were engaged in any of the actions with the enemy. As Sir William Winter said, they helped "to make a show," and that was about all. The noteworthy thing in the comparison of the two fleets is that the Spaniards almost doubled the English in tonnage, the figures being 29,744 as against 59,120, while the English as greatly excelled the enemy in number of seamen, of whom the English had 15,783 all told, while the Spaniards had only 8766. They made up, however, in soldiers. To these differences must be added the fact that the English ordnance was very much heavier than the Spanish, and that it was much better served, that service devolving upon the sailors in the English ships, while in the galleons and galleasses of the enemy the soldiers were the gunners, who were not, of course, so used to the motion of the sea.

Taking all these things into account, it has been considered by some that the two fleets were more on a par than it was formerly the custom to repre-

sent. This may be true. Nevertheless, when the transports and provision ships are taken away on the one side, and the vessels that were "for show" and were never engaged, are deducted on the other, and only those ships that did the fighting are taken into account, it must be conceded that the preponderance was vastly on the side of the Spaniards. At any rate, it appears evident that the English commanders thought so, and that, as against Spanish weight and numbers, it behoved them to make the most of their superiority in seamanship, in gunnery, and in the manageability of their ships.

But, after all, the real disparity was in regard to the men who had charge of the respective fleets. On the one side there was a man in command who was what perhaps the richest of Elizabeth's merchants would have called a "fly-blow of the court"—"very well at home for those who did not know him," was his wife's verdict—but otherwise a thing to hang fine clothes upon. He was surrounded by a few men of recognised ability; although not much can be said for them even, in view of results. Opposed to these grandees of Spain were a number of men of real grit and power, men born and bred to the sea, who had been schooled in storm and tempest and war, one a genius of the supremest order, who, like Nelson and Dundonald, knew how to make heroes out of the common stuff of humanity. Next to him, and in many respects hardly his inferior, stands Hawkins, a man who as a designer and builder of ships, probably had not his equal in that age, and to whom, as the Comptroller of the Navy,



A SHOOTING-MATCH BY THE LONDON ARCHERS IN THE TIME OF
QUEEN ELIZABETH.

(From an old print.)

England owed as much as to any man for the victory over the Armada, by reason of the high qualities of the vessels he turned out. Better ships for the work they had to do never went to sea. They called forth Howard's unstinting praise; they were "in royal and perfect estate, feeling the seas no more than if they had been riding at Chatham." Along with these two must be named Frobisher, Fenner, Palmer, Winter, Townsend, and last, though not least, the Admiral in command, Lord Charles Howard of Effingham.

Early in May the greater part of the English armament was ready, and was anxiously waiting for the long-threatened Armada. Nothing appeared, however; but a report presently came to hand that the Spanish fleet had been so damaged in the late storms that it could not be got ready again before another year. Lord Howard, however, making a recognisance towards the coast of Spain, learned how matters really stood, and came back to oppose any dismissal of ships to the dockyards, as had been ordered. The time hung heavily upon the hands of the commanders; they were fighting with hands that held the purse-strings for supplies, instead of tackling the Spaniards. Drake itched to be off with the volunteer fleet, of which he was Vice-Admiral, to give the foe a rouse in their harbours; but he was withheld. Once, about the beginning of July, he and Howard ran out with eighty-two sail as far as Ushant, hoping to fall in with the Armada. The wind changed, however, and they hastened back, fearing the enemy might pass them unperceived.

Henceforward they did not venture far from Plymouth, but kept a sharp look-out from the sound; Howard in the *Ark*, with the Queen's ships under his command, and ten others belonging to himself and his family; Drake in the *Revenge*, with forty-three volunteers of all sizes, from forty to four hundred tons; Hawkins, as Rear-Admiral, sailed in the *Victory*; Frobisher in the *Triumph*.

At length the long-awaited-for enemy appeared. He was first sighted by a Scottish corsair named Fleming, who at once carried the information to Plymouth. This was on the evening of the 19th of July. Instantly the news was flashed by fire-signals all over the country—

“ From Eddystone to Berwick bounds, from Lynn to Milford Bay,”

and the Spaniards, as they moved slowly along the Cornish coast, were made aware that England was awake by the pillars of smoke that were visible as far as the eye could reach.

The Duke of Medina Sidonia and his captains seem at first to have hoped that they might catch the English napping at Plymouth, as on Saturday morning, when they first came within sight of land, not a sail was to be seen; but they learned during the night from four Falmouth fishermen whom they captured, that Howard and Drake had already slipped out of the bay, and were waiting for them in or near the sound. The wind was unfavourable to the English, shifting from south to south-west, almost blocking them up in the sound; nevertheless, most of the ships had been warped out, and

were lying under the shelter of Ramhead, eagerly on the watch for the enemy, who towards three in the afternoon, were discovered away to the west, off Fowey, in the form of a half-moon, the horns of which were seven or eight miles apart, standing under full sail up channel.

We know from the Spanish account that the fleet was in three divisions, and that Alonza de Leyva, with the young nobles of Spain, led the advance in the *Rata Coronada*; that Martinez de Recalde brought up the rear; while the Commander-in-chief was with the main division in the centre.¹ As they came more distinctly within view, a careful count gave a hundred and fifty ships of all sizes; but the apparent increase in the Armada was due to the fact that some Flemish merchant vessels had sought its temporary escort. Coming along steadily under full sail, Medina Sidonia arrived off Plymouth Sound just before nightfall. It was too late for him to estimate the number of ships opposed to him; but he could see a multitude of sails passing and re-passing between him and the land. Confident, however, of the superiority of his armament, he resolved to give battle on the morrow, and signalled to his captains to lie-to for the night.

In the morning, with a fresh westerly breeze, the Duke made sail, and manœuvred to get betwixt the squadrons of Howard and Drake; but the former, perceiving the intention, ran to windward and joined his Vice-Admiral. Then, being a few leagues west of the Eddystone, Howard opened fire upon the

¹ Froude.

Rata Coronada, which, by reason of her size and position, was thought to be the flag-ship of the Commander-in-chief, engaging her furiously until several of her consorts came to the rescue. Simultaneously, the rearward squadron under Recalde was attacked by Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher. Recalde endeavoured to close and settle matters in a hand-to-hand conflict; but the English had no intention of being disposed of in such a manner. They had learnt a different art of naval warfare to that pursued by the Spaniards, whose method was to lay their enemy's ship aboard, pour in a hot fire with their small arms, and then carry her by boarding. The English, on the other hand, trusted to their great guns as their chief arm. With these they poured broadside after broadside into the huge towering hulks of the enemy as they flew past them, they in the meantime hardly suffering at all from the guns of the Spaniards, because, being shorn of the towering castles at prow and poop that distinguished the galleons of the Armada, they were not so easily hit. This circumstance, too, together with the finer lines which Hawkins had introduced, made the English ships better sailers. It was soon perceived by the enemy that their heavy and unweildy craft were no match in a fight for the English, which could not only sail faster and closer to the wind than theirs, but, through the greater expertness of their sailor gunners, the English were able to fire three or four shots to their one.

This initial encounter between the two fleets appears to have greatly surprised the Spaniards, and

especially the veterans, like Recalde and Oquendo, who saw for the first time vessels managed with the ease of racers, and heavy guns fired with a speed and effectiveness that put their own efforts in that line to the blush. Don Martinez hardly knew what to do in the face of such tactics. He saw his ships battered and his men killed, while he was helpless to get a blow at the foe. No wonder he was perplexed, and that his squadron was thrown into confusion. The engagement continued till late in the afternoon, when, finding how hopeless the contest was, Medina Sidonia signalled to his scattered galleons and galleasses to crowd on all sail and bear away up channel.

But the day's doings were not destined to end so tamely. Although the Spanish squadrons re-formed and were obeying the Admiral's command, it was presently found that Recalde's own vessel, which was bringing up the rear, had suffered so much damage that she was not able to keep up with the rest of the squadron, and was in danger of being left behind and captured. Accounts differ as to how the subsequent mishap came about, but, according to the Spanish account,¹ which seems the most probable, Pedro de Valdez in the *Capitana*, or flagship of the Andalusia squadron, bore up to assist his old companion-in-arms. But, in turning, the *Capitana* fell foul of the *Santa Catalina*, and losing her bowsprit and foretopmast in the collision, was rendered unmanageable. The *Capitana* was one of the biggest and finest galleons in the fleet, and besides

¹ Froude, *The Spanish Story of the Armada*.

a large amount of money, had five hundred men on board. The Duke and his chief adviser refused to stop the Armada to come to the rescue of Don Pedro; and though boats were sent to take off the crew and treasure, they found themselves unable to do so in the rising sea. The consequence was that the unfortunate *Capitana* was left to her fate. In the morning Drake, returning from the chase of five "great hulks" that had separated from the Spanish fleet, but which he found to be German merchant vessels, and so dismissed, fell in with Don Pedro's galleon, captured it and sent it into Torbay.

But even this mishap did not end the disasters of the night, for, not long after dark, the *San Salvador*, a galleon of 958 tons, fired by a Flemish gunner who had been struck by an officer, had her deck blown out from stem to stern, and two hundred of her crew sent flying into the air. The fleet was obliged to round to, in order to secure the remainder of the ship's company, and some considerable treasure that was on board. This done, the still burning hull was abandoned, and the next morning was taken possession of by Howard, when, "to the admiration of all men," says Hakluyt, a large quantity of gunpowder was found in her "whole and unconsumed."

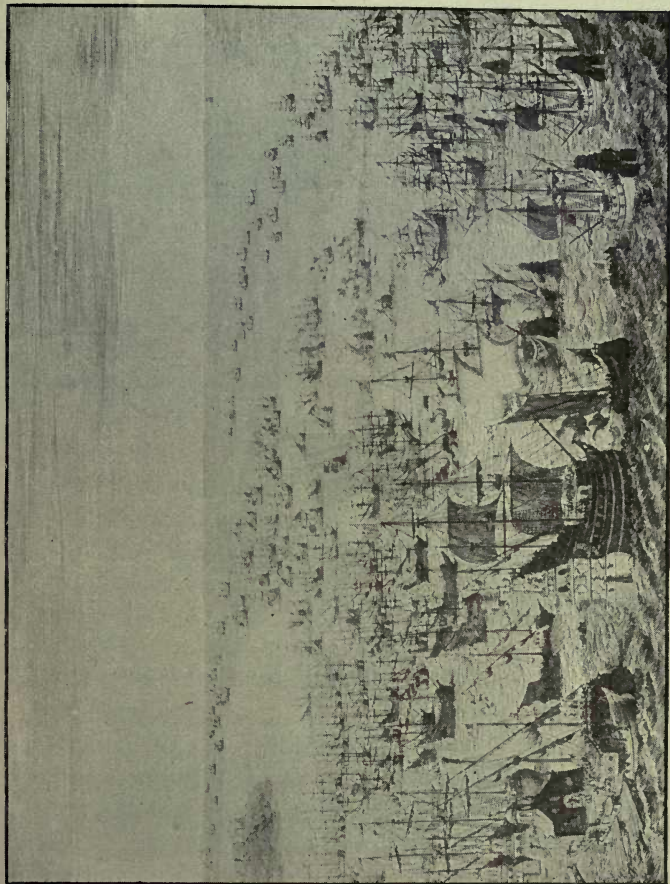
Next morning Howard was surprised to find himself with only the *Bear* and the *Mary Rose* within culverin shot of the enemy, while the remainder of the fleet was so far astern as to be scarcely visible. Drake, it appears, should have shown a light to guide the English ships during the night, but in-

stead of doing that he was after the "Easterlings." Howard, in consequence, mistook the Spanish beacon light for that of his Vice-Admiral, and thus narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the enemy. However, he was able to bear up in time and rejoin his friends. Nothing more was done that day. The Spaniards had the advantage of the wind, and might have forced an action on the English; but they seemed to prefer remaining quiet, patching up the hurts of the first day's fight, and possibly comparing notes and discussing what course to adopt to meet the strange tactics of the enemy.

The night of the 22d was very calm, and the four great Spanish galleasses, each having three banks of oars and three hundred rowers, separating from the main body, led the English to suspect that they had a design on some of the smaller ships that were lying apart from the rest of the fleet; but before they could get to work a fresh breeze sprang up and they could do nothing.

The fleets were now off Portland, and as the wind, drawing north, was "fortunate and fit," Medina Sidonia bore down upon Howard, and offered battle. The English went away to the north-east, followed by the Spaniards, who thought they were afraid to engage, and thus became "the more incensed to fight." In the end they were not thwarted of their wish. Howard's object was to get the enemy to break their close order, and to do the galleons as much damage as possible without bringing on a general engagement.

The battle lasted from morning till night, the re-



sult being much the same as on Sunday. The English ships, being more easily handled and better sailers, attacked and retreated as they pleased, delivering their broadsides into the gigantic hulls of the galleons, which, thick though they were, were pierced through and through, while they, heeled over by the wind, as often as not fired too high to do any hurt.

One of the galleons, the *San Marcus*, getting far ahead of her consorts, was attacked by Hawkins with great fury, and would have been taken but for Oquendo coming to the rescue. During the day a great Venetian ship and several smaller ones were taken, while a number of London vessels which were in danger were rescued by the English. Finally, after "the English fleet had continually and without intermission from morning till night battered them with all their shot, both great and small, the Spaniards united themselves, gathering their whole fleet close together into a roundell, so that it was apparent that they meant not as yet to invade others, but only to defend themselves."¹

The next day, Wednesday the 24th, which turned out calm, neither side appeared disposed to renew the struggle. On the English side the disinclination is easily comprehensible. Their powder and shot were exhausted, and a fresh supply had not yet come to hand. "Many of our great guns stood as cyphers and scarecrows," wrote Raleigh afterwards. Under the circumstances Howard was helpless. The English ships lay about six miles from the Ar-

¹ Hakluyt, vol. vii.

mada, impatiently waiting for their magazines to be replenished. Medina Sidonia, knowing nothing of



LORD HOWARD OF EFFINGHAM.

this, attributed Howard's inaction to fear, and sent De Monçada with the galleasses to engage his ships;

but though there was some skirmishing, no advantage accrued to either side. Towards night, Howard received a fresh store of ammunition, and as his fleet had now been greatly increased by a crowd of volunteers, who, on hearing that the Armada had really come, hastened from every port to lend their aid, found it expedient to divide his forces into four squadrons, under himself, Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, respectively. This done, he concerted with his leading captains a plan to attack the Spaniards in the dead of night with their pinnaces, but the rising wind prevented its being carried out.

Day had hardly dawned on the 25th, before the Duke of Medina Sidonia was made aware that the English disinclination to engage the day before had not been caused by fear. Both fleets were now off the Isle of Wight; and Sir George Curry, desirous of seeing what was to the fore, possibly of getting in a shot with the rest, ran from behind the island, and found himself at five o'clock in the morning, "in the midst of round shot flying as thick as musket balls in a skirmish on land." The action appears to have been brought on by the capture of a couple of store-ships by the English pinnaces. At daybreak the Spaniards saw them being towed away, and De Leyva and two of the galleasses immediately gave chase to recover them. Meanwhile the main body of the Armada being uncovered, Howard, determined to try conclusions at close quarters, made for the centre of the fleet, followed by the *Bear*, the *Lion*, the *Elizabeth Jonas*, and the *Victory*, all Queen's ships, and all commanded by

members of his own family, except the last-named, which carried the flag of Sir John Hawkins. Exchanging broadsides with every galleon he passed, Howard went straight for the *San Martin*, at the masthead of which he descried Sidonia's flag flying. He was not allowed to have his own way with the Duke, however, for while he was battering the *San Martin* with his heavy guns, Recalde and Oquendo hastened to the assistance of their chief, the latter thrusting his galleon between the *Ark* and the Duke's flagship. It was a bold act, and might have been disastrous to the *Ark*, which ran into the galleon and had her rudder unshipped. Immediately she was surrounded by a lot of Spaniards, who seemed to feel her already within their grasp, when, to the astonishment of the whole fleet, her boats suddenly dropped over her sides, oars were plied with a will, and before the enemy knew what they were about, her head was pulled round to the wind, her sails filled, and she flew out of reach of the swiftest sailer amongst them.¹

Hawkins also distinguished himself in this day's engagement, tackling single-handed Recalde's great galleon, the *Santa Anna*, which had fallen somewhat apart from the rest of the fleet, and battered her so tremendously that she was obliged to make for the French coast, where she ran herself ashore at Havre. Another account² says that Hawkins had actually taken her and run the English flag up to her peak; but whether this was so, and she was afterwards retaken, appears doubtful.

¹ Calderon, quoted by Froude. ² *Plymouth Armada Heroes.*

Thus the fight went on until night, when the exhaustion of their supply of powder and shot caused the English to draw off. They had not much to show for their pains, for it does not even appear that they were able to keep the store-ships they had taken; and possibly, as they hung upon the enemy's rear at night, they may have wondered how long the contest was going to last, and what was to be the end of it. Thus far, to all outward appearance, they had made but little impression upon the enormous armament. They had battered it, pierced the sides of its huge hulks, killing numbers of its soldiers who had been sent below to be safe from harm; they had torn its sails and smashed its rigging, in one instance they had caused the scuppers to run blood; but still in its bulk, in its power to do mischief, they seemed to have made very little impression. It was impossible for them to know, of course, what had been the effect of the five days' fighting upon the spirits of the enemy: how they had expected to settle matters with the English in one decisive engagement; how, up to the present, though they had not once been able to grapple with them at close quarters, they had suffered enormously; and most of all, how, from the dexterity with which the English ships were managed and their greater speed, from the rapidity with which they worked their heavier ordnance, the Spaniards had come to look upon them as something demoniacal, and heartily wished themselves out of the business, and none perhaps so much as the ducal Commander-in-chief himself. This is seen from his

plaintive letter to the Prince of Parma on this very day (25th of July), in which he complains that though he has purposely exposed his ships to tempt the English to board, they will not close and give him a chance of a hand-to-hand encounter, but simply make targets of his galleons from morning till night. He ends his letter by saying he shall soon be with his coadjutor for the invasion of England, if the wind hold fair.

The wind continued fair the next day, Friday, and the Duke, determined to be drawn into no more fighting if he could help it, bore away towards the coast of France. Howard, on his part, was content to leave him alone, having the most urgent need of stores. During the day, therefore, he ran up to Dover and replenished himself with such ammunition and provisions as he could get, leaving some portion of his squadrons to hang upon the Spaniard's rear. On Saturday, amid squalls and driving showers from the west, the Armada reached the French coast, and in the afternoon anchored in Calais roads, closely followed by the English, who cast their anchors not much over a mile astern of them; and thus as the day closed in the two fleets lay watching each other.

Medina Sidonia could hardly have chosen a worse position, although it was safe enough with the present south-west wind. But having no trustworthy pilots, he was afraid of the other side of the channel, with its dangerous sands and shoals. It had been Philip's orders that he should bring up behind the North Foreland; but in view of the Duke's anxiety

to get as near to Parma as possible, the King's instructions had to go by the board. At Calais he seemed almost under Parma's wing. He was secure enough where he was, so long as the existing weather lasted, and he hoped by Monday to see Parma issue with his legions of boats and his troops from Dunkirk to join him.

The position of affairs was anything but cheering to the English. Notwithstanding a week's hard fighting, the Armada had so far carried out its programme that it had all but joined hands with the land forces, whose crossing it was to cover. And it had done so to all outward appearances unhurt. It had lost but three of its great galleons out of sixty-seven, a reduction hardly perceptible, while the English had only a day's ammunition and a very short supply of provisions. However, they remained undismayed, and having been joined on Saturday evening by Lord Henry Seymour, the commander of the Straits squadron, and Sir William Winter, the Armada was anxiously watched all that night and Sunday morning. In the afternoon of Sunday a council of war was held on board the *Ark*, at which all the leading commanders were present, including Lord Sheffield, Sir William Winter, Sir Henry Palmer, Captain Fenner, and Sir Robert Southwell.

Never, perhaps, did the deliberations of a dozen men import so much to the fortunes of England. The fate of the country may almost be said to have depended on the wisdom of their choice of ways. There was the utmost danger in the Armada being

allowed to remain where she was, with the possibility of being joined by the invading forces lying at Dunkirk. But to attack her where she lay was next to an impossibility. Under the circumstances it was decided to attempt to drive the fleet from its anchorage, or to destroy it as it rode at anchor with fire-ships. No sooner was this course decided upon than the necessary preparations were taken in hand. Eight of the volunteer vessels were selected, and were filled with gunpowder, pitch, brimstone, and other combustibles, their masts and yards and rigging generally being smeared also with pitch. Their crews undertook to bring them within a certain distance of the Spanish ships, and then at a given signal to set their sails, tie their rudders, put fire to them, and so take to their boats. All this was done without a hitch; and shortly after midnight, with a favourable wind and the tide against the foe, the ships burst into flame, and were carried directly upon the Spanish fleet.

The Duke of Medina Sidonia appears to have suspected that mischief was brewing in the English fleet from the number of lights that were seen flitting about, and gave orders for the strictest watch to be kept. But he little anticipated the dire shape that mischief was to take, as, most of the ships' companies being asleep, the eight large hulks were seen bearing down upon them; and when, on their bursting into flame, the alarm was sounded through the fleet, "perplexity and horror" fell upon them. They imagined the fire-ships were floating mines similar to those that had been employed three years

before to blow up the bridge at Antwerp, and that had wrought such terrible destruction. In the consternation of the moment the signal was given for the fleet to cut or slip their anchors and make sail. Thus congratulating themselves on a deadly peril averted, "they betook themselves very confusedly into the main sea."

It had been Medina Sidonia's intention to come to an anchor outside, and return to their moorings again in the morning; but, unfortunately for the carrying out of this design, most of the galleons, having been riding with two anchors, had not a third available, if they had one at all, and so when day dawned he found himself with less than half his ships about him. The rest, seventy in number, were scattered to leeward, and were in danger of drifting on to the shallows before the north-west wind. The pilots told the Duke that it would be fatal to try to help them. He was in the like helpless condition in regard to Monçada, whose galleass—the largest of the four under his command—having fouled another vessel in the rush to get away from the fire-ships, had lost her rudder, and so, becoming unmanageable, was gradually driven ashore at Calais. Here she was attacked by several English ships, the *Ark* among the number, and in spite of a brave defence was captured by the English, Monçada being killed fighting on his ship's deck. Amongst the plunder found in her was fifty thousand ducats.

In the meantime, while Howard was thus engaged over the galleass, one of the most terrific and momentous sea-fights of which history has any record

had been commenced by Drake, Hawkins, and Seymour. During the night the Spaniards had drifted in a northerly direction, and were now off Gravelines. But, as already said, seventy of them were scattered, many of them drifting dangerously near the shoal water. Forty only were with Medina Sidonia, and with these the battle was waged. The signal was given from the *San Martin* for the fleet to resume their over-night anchorage before Calais. Drake and his colleagues decided that, having once been got out of that threatening position, they must not be allowed to return to it at any cost, or under any circumstances be left where they could be joined by Parma and his forces. They resolved, therefore, to drive them north, and with that intent they went to the attack, Seymour beginning the action with an onslaught on the Spaniards' right, and being rapidly followed by Hawkins and Drake, the latter apparently on the enemy's left, having Medina Sidonia and Oquendo, with a number of the best-managed galleons, as his antagonists. The two fleets, so far as concerned the ships engaged, were more equally matched than they had hitherto been, although the English had probably the advantage in weight of ordnance, and certainly in the skill with which they managed their ships, "using their prerogative of nimble stirrage, whereby they could turn and wield themselves with the wind which way they listed," to the best advantage.

The English, in consequence of this greater equality, were emboldened to try conclusions at closer quarters than heretofore, delivering their broadsides

at from a hundred to a hundred and twenty yards' distance, and not seldom, as old Hakluyt remarks, at "but a pike's length asunder." This for the Spaniards was murderous work; and though they fought with the utmost bravery, never once striking or shirking the fight, yet they made but little impression upon their opponents compared to the damage sustained by their own great hulks, which were riddled and pierced through and through with shot, while their scuppers in some cases were seen to run with blood. At noon Howard, having finished with Monçada's galleass, joined the main battle, which was continued without intermission until sunset, and then only ceased for want of ammunition.

Englishmen can hardly read of that great day without a thrill, so epical in its grandeur did the contest become. One reads of a few names—Howard, Seymour, Sheffield, Drake—the last undoubtedly the great and inspiring mind of the day; but the heroes were the thousands of common men, unnamed and unknelled, who after a week's serious fighting, rose to the splendour of the culminating fight off Gravelines, and—miserable to relate! through the parsimony of those at home—on scant provisions and poisonous beer.

When the day was over it was again like a drawn battle. The English had spent almost their last cartridge, and the Spaniards were in a like predicament. But they had had enough, and were in no mood to renew the contest. Indeed, so depressed and disheartened were they, and their best galleons

so battered and spoiled, so full of wounded withal, that it is almost certain that, had Howard been able to continue the conflict for the two remaining hours of daylight, he would either have compelled Medina Sidonia and his brave Armada to surrender, or, between his shots and the lee shore, driven them to destruction. It was, perhaps, better as things turned out. Philip and his backers invoked the assistance of the Almighty in his nefarious purpose of enslaving a nation, and in the result he saw that, if the Almighty took any part in the affair at all, it was not on the side of him and his battalions of priests.

The casualties on the side of the Spaniards were considerable. When the ships' companies came to be called over, it was found that four thousand men had been sent to their account, to say nothing of the wounded. During the day three large galleons were seen to sink with all hands, while three others received such terrible injuries that they were driven towards the coast of Flanders in the hope of finding safety there. Of these the *San Filipe* was one. She went ashore between Ostend and Newepoort, and her company, rescued by friendly fishermen, were enabled to join the Prince of Parma. The *San Antonio* managed to make her way into Ostend, where she fell into the hands of the English garrison. The *San Matteo*—most unfortunate of all—grounded between Ostend and Sluys, and, after a fierce fight, was taken possession of by some vessels sent out by Lord Willoughby, who was at Flushing, and all in her were either put to the sword or thrown

overboard, except her commander, Don Diego de Pimentel, and two or three others, who were valuable on account of their ransom. No English ship was either taken or sunk. Many of them suffered a good deal, however. Drake's ship was struck forty times, while two shots went right through his cabin.

About sunset some vessels came up with provisions, and the English drew off to take them on board—not before they were needed. Meanwhile Sidonia collected his scattered forces, and made all the haste he could into the North Sea, hampered by a north-west wind. All during the night they seem, with their battered hulls and rigging, often hardly able to bear a sail, to have run imminent risk of driving on the low-lying coast of Holland. Gladly would they have crawled back to Calais, had that been possible; but when the morning dawned—the morning of the 30th of July—they saw the English fleet still hanging upon their rear. Drake felt that, though the Spaniards had been “appalled” by the previous day's fighting, they might possibly, if not closely watched, attempt to get back, so as to be able to join hands with Parma. Without the means, therefore, of fighting another battle, he and Howard hung threatful to windward of Philip's miserable fleet. That was enough; for though a council of war was held in the admiral's ship, and one or two stout-hearted captains were still for fighting, the majority were all the other way, and Sidonia himself was with them. A change of wind to the east seems to have plucked up his

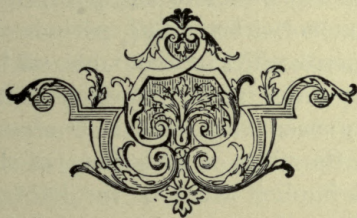


spirits for a brief moment or two. It was an exceedingly favourable one both for him and for Parma, and as unfavourable for the English, who found it necessary for Seymour's squadron to detach itself in the night and turn back for the protection of the Thames. On the way the wind shifted round again to the south-west, making the Channel impassable for Parma, and helping the wavering Sidonia to make up his mind to go home by way of the north of Scotland. The English were nothing loth, although they seem to have regretted not being able to give them one more harrying. "We have the army of Spain before us," wrote Drake on the 31st, "and mean, by the grace of God, to wrestle a fall with it. God grant ye have a good eye to the Duke of Parma, for with the grace of God, if we live, I doubt not ere it be long so to handle the matter with the Duke of Sidonia as he shall wish himself at St. Mary Port among his orange trees."¹

As it turned out, Drake did not get his hoped for "fall" with Medina Sidonia. He and Howard pursued the Spaniards several days, hoping all the time that they would bear up and engage; but, according to a prisoner afterwards taken in Ireland, the devil himself would not have driven the Spaniards to encounter with the English again; and so, leaving the shattered and despairing Armada to run its course north, the English fleet returned to Margate. It is not necessary to recount the harrowing details of the ultimate disaster that befel Philip's monstrous and ill-fated expedition. Of all that

¹ Letter to Walsingham.

proud array, only fifty-three ships found their way back to Spain. The remainder of those that survived after the battle of Gravelines on the 29th, before September was out had littered the coast from the Orkneys to Cape Clear with piles of wreckage and the corpses of unnumbered dead.





CHAPTER VIII.

AFTER THE ARMADA.

WHEN England finally saw the long-threatened Armada blown to the four winds by the guns of Drake and the fiercer blasts of heaven, Elizabeth had lived through two-thirds of her reign. They had been years of difficulty and peril, often of great darkness; but notwithstanding periods of fierce dejection and perplexities innumerable, nothing availed to daunt the brave and lofty spirit of the Queen. Though fully aware that she was in almost constant danger from the plots of assassins, yet she seems to have placed implicit trust in the knot of devoted men about her, who were alternately wheedled and scolded, as her imperious will dictated, while she danced and frolicked with as much zest and freedom as though the cares of State had never troubled her for a moment.

After the Armada year, a new life seemed to begin for her, as for the country at large. It was as though men had been living under a cloud, and that cloud being at length dispersed, and the sunshine breaking forth in full splendour again, life leapt, as

it were, into an ecstasy, such as we see when after winter the spring comes; and accompanying and giving expression to that life, there arose a pean of triumph and gladness, the like whereof cannot be matched in any age or country. To this day the ring of that life and of its glory resounds in our ears; and though since then three hundred years have come and gone, the wonder of it, aye, and the mystery of it too, puzzles and perplexes us still.

This is not the place to discuss the more purely mental achievements of Elizabeth's reign, although they undoubtedly had much to do in creating that national spirit and imperial fervour which carried England forward in her career of dominion and conquest. It would, however, take us too far from the main purpose of this work to speak of the Greenes and Marlowes, the Spensers and Shakespeares, the Sydneys, Bacons, Jonsons, Chapmans, and all the inspired throng of singers and sayers, who left such a deathless heritage to England and the world. For it is ever the glory of the greatest in the realm of letters that they are not only for all time but for all men—that their message is not one for this narrow province or that small country, but that it comes to us fraught with the larger patriotism and broader commonweal that includes all men within its bounds, and is a respecter of neither caste nor creed, an upholder of no privilege save that of equal rights and the like advantages to all.

The main thing to note is, that the literature which then had its rise has probably helped more than any other single influence to make the inhabitants of

these islands one people. For though laws and common national interests may do much, they are as nothing in the long run compared with those higher influences of the mind and the spirit in directing and moulding the destinies of nations. To-day the birthright we all enjoy from Shakespeare and Spenser, from Milton and Jonson, from Goldsmith, and Scott, and Burns, and a hundred others, are more potent and precious to us of English speech than the influence of all the dynasties that have come and gone since Saxon Heptarchies began to beat the warring septs and clans into a united people.

But while many of our rulers have done more to check than to encourage the growth of the national spirit, that cannot be said of Elizabeth. Of her it must be acknowledged—and in this fact may lie the secret of much of the splendid efflorescence that characterised her reign—that she never stood in the way of the free development and expansion of the people. She trusted them—at least, in so far as they were born and bred in England—guided them with a firm hand; but, like a good horseman, gave them plenty of head. One almost fancies that, woman-like, she loved to see her men put forth their strength to the utmost and do their mightiest, requiring only that they should be tame to her hand when she so willed. After the Armada she gave them more verge and freedom than ever, and the effect was soon witnessed in every direction. While her armies were busy in Ireland and France, she accorded almost unlimited licence to whomsoever liked to ask to spoil the Spaniards at sea or in their ports.

Elizabeth had by this time been converted to Drake's view, "that the advantage of time and place in all martial actions is half a victory," and during the remainder of her reign she never allowed herself to be cozened by specious offers of peace by the arch-enemy, but carried the war into Philip's own borders with a spirit and determination that never slackened. She still found it best, however, to let her subjects fit out and bear the chief cost of the expeditions against Spain's maritime power and prestige. Hence the high seas were more than ever infested with English privateers, and Spanish and Portuguese commerce suffered more deplorably than ever. But the prizes were not obtained so easily as in former years. The enemy, being now thoroughly awake to their danger, strengthened the defences of their ports, and never allowed their treasure-ships or merchantmen to go without strong convoys. Rarely did a month pass, however, without a rich galleon or two being brought into port, or the news of some doughty deed coming to hand. The first return-blow for the Armada, however, was fitted out partly at Elizabeth's expense. It consisted of fifty vessels and fifteen thousand men under Drake and Norris, and sailed in April, 1589, for the coast of Spain. The Queen contributed six Royal ships and twenty thousand pounds; the remainder of the money being found by the commanders and their friends. The aim of the expedition was to wrest Portugal from Philip, and restore the ancient line in the person of Don Antonio. Landing first at Corunna, they attacked and took the lower town, de-

stroyed a large amount of stores, and defeated a more considerable force than their own, which was sent to the relief of the place. Norris made an attempt on the upper town; but though he breached the walls, his assault proved unsuccessful, and was not repeated. Lisbon was next approached, but for various reasons its capture was found to be impracticable, and Norris, after marching through its suburbs, re-embarked at Cascaes, and the fleet proceeded to Vigo. That town was taken and burnt, and the surrounding country plundered; after which exploit the expedition returned. But it had lost half its men, and though the enemy had been humbled, and much booty taken, the expedition was confessedly a failure. Differences had arisen between the commanders as to the best means of conducting the enterprise, and, whichever's the blame, Don Antonio returned as he went forth, a pretender still.

The same year (1589) an expedition was fitted out by the Earl of Cumberland to prey upon Spanish and Portuguese commerce at the Azores, where the carracks from the East and the galleons from the West Indies used to meet, and proceed thence to the Peninsula in company; but it ended disastrously, a large number of men being lost in an attack upon St. Mary's, and a ship of the Spanish West-Indian Fleet, valued at £100,000, which had been captured, being utterly lost with all hands in Mount's Bay. The other ships ran short of water, and were put to direful extremity.

The following year Sir John Hawkins was associ-

ated with Frobisher in the command of a squadron "to do all possible mischief to the enemy, and especially to look out for the Plata Fleet." This, however, having had timely warning, did not appear, and the expedition came home without accomplishing anything. In 1591, Cumberland again fitted out an expedition, consisting of the *Garland*, a Queen's ship, and seven others. It sailed in May, and, arriving on the coast of Portugal, captured several valuable prizes, which, however, were subsequently retaken, and his second in command, Captain Monson, made prisoner. This misadventure caused the Earl to return to England; but before leaving the coast of Spain he sent a pinnace to Lord Thomas Howard, who was lying in wait at the Azores for the homeward-bound treasure-ships, warning him that a large Spanish fleet was on the point of sailing to attack him.

Howard got his warning none too soon. When the Spanish armament hove in sight, he was lying at the Island of Flores. His squadron was composed partly of ships belonging to the Queen and partly of privateers and victuallers. Sir Richard Grenville was with him as Vice-admiral, his ship being the *Revenge*, the same on which Drake had fought so splendidly through the Armada struggle. The Spanish fleet is said to have numbered fifty-three sail, although not more than twenty were ships of war, the rest being victuallers. The English had sixteen ships; but half the men were incapacitated through fever and scurvy, while the rest at the time the Spanish fleet came in sight were

busy taking in water. Howard, thinking it imprudent to encounter so large a force, hurried his men on board, and got away to sea, but was not, for some reason, followed by Grenville. It is said that when the latter saw the Spaniards sailing round the western point of the island, he believed them to be the long-expected treasure-ships, and refused to follow his chief. Raleigh, however, says that he was delayed in getting his sick men on board, they having been landed with a view to recruiting their health. Whatever the cause, the *Revenge* was so retarded that before she could weigh, the Spanish fleet had stretched to windward of her, and thus cut her off from the rest of the squadron. There were but two courses now open to Grenville; either he must bear up and get away as quickly as he could, or he must fight his way through the Spanish fleet. He chose the latter as the only honourable alternative, and steered straightway to the encounter.

Soon enough he was in the thick of it. Several vessels he forced to luff and fall under his lee, two he sank, while a couple more he compelled to take refuge on shore in a sinking state. But about three o'clock in the afternoon, the *Revenge* came under the lee of several high-charged galleons, which took her wind, and so caused her to become becalmed. From that time, and all the night long, she was beset by the enemy. Ship after ship closed and boarded her. No sooner was one beaten off than another took its place; and so for hours the *Revenge* held her own single-handed against the host of the enemy.

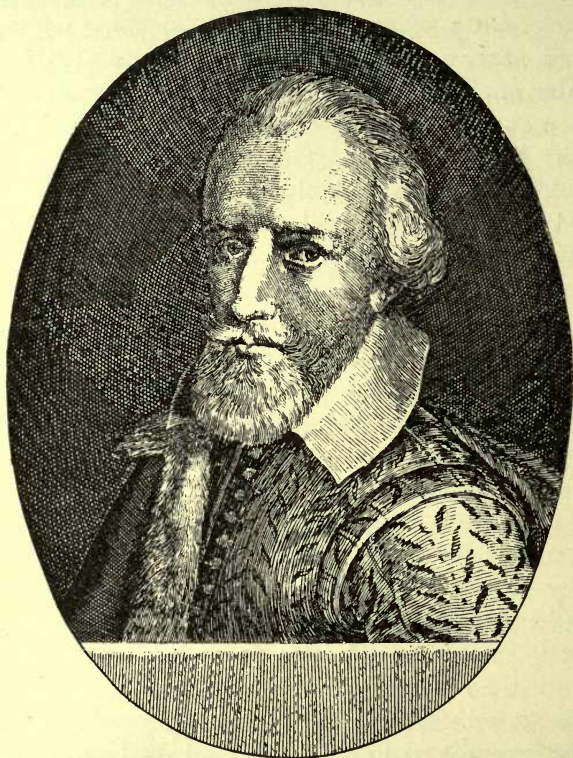
According to Raleigh's computation, she received "eight hundred shot of great artillery, besides many assaults and entries." When morning dawned, all the powder was spent, there was hardly a pike whole, not a stick was standing, "nothing left overhead either for flight or defence," and six feet of water in the hold; not more than twenty men were alive out of the hundred and fifty with which the fight began, and those grievously wounded; the deck was slippery with blood, and crowded with dead and dying men; Grenville himself mortally wounded.

A careful analysis of the facts has led to the conclusion that not more than fifteen of the enemy's ships were engaged with the *Revenge*—only fifteen! And it took them fifteen hours to reduce her to the pass described. Even then this doughty Cornishman was not for yielding, but gave orders to the master gunner to scuttle the ship where she lay. And the latter would have obeyed, had not the captain and crew, who thought they had done enough, interfered and locked him up in his cabin. Then they sent to the Spanish commander for terms. These were granted, and Grenville was taken on board the *San Pablo*, the enemy's flagship, where he died a day or two afterwards, "with a joyful and quiet mind, for that I have ended my life as a true soldier ought to do . . . and shall always leave behind the everlasting fame of a valiant and true soldier."

The hero of this story, "memorable even beyond credit and to the height of some heroical fable,"¹

¹ Bacon, *Considerations Touching a War with Spain*.

has been blamed for disobeying his Admiral's order, for bad seamanship, for foolhardiness, and much else to the like side of the account, but all the same



SIR RICHARD GRENVILLE.

he did a magnificent bit of fighting; and if fighting there must be, one feels that this is the way it should be done. This last fight of the *Revenge* has

been compared to that of the three hundred at Thermopylæ, and in truth it was every bit as splendid in its way. We are told by a contemporary that it "made the Spaniards triumph as if they had obtained a signal victory." No doubt it did—in order to get out of it what consolation they could; nevertheless it may be, and doubtless is, equally true, as Froude tells us, that it "struck a deeper terror, thought it was but the action of a single ship, into the hearts of the Spanish people; it dealt a more deadly blow upon their fame and naval strength than the destruction of the Armada itself, and in the direct results which arose from it, it was scarcely less disastrous."

But all the armaments against Spain, and they were annual affairs, were outdone in importance by that of 1595, under the joint command of Drake and Hawkins. Well had it been, if after the failure of the expedition to Portugal, Drake had retired on his laurels. But his was one of those natures that cannot be still so long as there is any work to be done, especially while in the prime of life, and Drake was only fifty. Unfortunately, however, he again accepted a divided command, and, in conjunction with Sir John Hawkins, engaged in a formidable undertaking against the West Indies. It was on so large a scale—consisting of six Royal ships and twenty-one private vessels, with land and sea forces to the number of 2500—that it was thought it must utterly crush the Spanish power in those parts. Delayed for some time by reports that another Armada was being prepared to invade England, it finally got

under way towards the end of August, but was hardly out of sight of land ere discord appeared in the councils of the commanders.

A few days before they sailed, a report had reached them that a richly freighted galleon had been disabled and separated from the fleet that annually conveyed treasure from the Indies to Spain; and the capture of this vessel was strongly urged upon the commanders by the Queen. Hawkins wished at once to carry out this design; but time was frittered away in an attempt to invade the Canary Islands, and then again at Dominica. Meanwhile, the enemy had made the best of these delays to strengthen the defences of their colonies. The treasure-ship was now lying at Porto Rico; but several men-of-war had already been sent to bring it safely home.

The fleet sailed from Dominica on the 29th of October, and the same evening one of the vessels was taken by the enemy. It was evident from this misfortune, that the Spaniards were now so thoroughly on the alert as to preclude all possibility of surprising them.¹ Hawkins took the matter so much to heart, that he fell sick immediately afterwards, and on the 12th of November, when the fleet arrived before Porto Rico, he died, it is said, of "combined disease and grief." Nor was this the only misfortune of the day; for in the evening, while the officers were at supper, a shot from the fortifications entered the cabin, knocked the stool on which Drake sat from under him, killed Sir

¹ Hakluyt.

Nicholas Clifford, and mortally wounded several others. Next day a desperate attack was made upon the town, and it was captured; but it proved a barren victory, all the treasure having been conveyed to a place of safety. After this the enterprise was abandoned, and the fleet sailed for the main, when Rio de la Hacha and some other places were taken, and burnt to the ground. Santa Martha and Nombre de Dios followed, falling into their hands with hardly a show of resistance, and, like the other places, were given to the flames.¹ At the top of a watch-tower near the latter place they found upwards of two thousand pounds of silver, some bars of gold, and other valuable articles.

Two days after the taking of Nombre de Dios, Sir Thomas Baskerville, who had succeeded to Sir John Hawkins's place, with between seven and eight hundred soldiers, set out with the intention of forcing his way to Panama through the intricate and perilous passes of the Isthmus of Darien; but so well did he find the enemy prepared for him, and so incessantly was he harassed by their fire, that when he had got half-way there he was obliged to abandon the attempt. The survivors made their way back to the ships, "grievously depressed and disheartened."

This petty and ineffectual warfare was not what Drake had expected when he set out on this ill-fated expedition, and disappointed and grieved as he was at the unfortunate turn things had taken, this last and most fatal calamity threw him into a lingering fever, which was soon followed by other

¹ *Biographica Nautica*.

symptoms of disease, and on the 28th of January, 1596, he breathed his last near Porto Bello. His remains were placed in a leaden coffin, and committed to the deep—he who had lived on the sea, done so much for his country upon it, thus finding his last resting-place in it.

Notwithstanding the ill-success of this expedition, the contest with Spain was not allowed to languish. Elizabeth was compelled to leave the prosecution of it, in so far as the sea was concerned, very much to private enterprise. She, indeed, had her hands full with the support she gave to France against Philip on land. While he was thus engaged he could not attack England. Had he once been able to settle matters in France he would from that country have been enabled to renew his attempt on England. After the ascent of Henry IV. to the throne of France the war raged for several years; but in the end that prince compelled the League to recognise him as king, and thus at the head of a united people he was able to compel Philip to acknowledge his title, and to agree to terms of peace (1595).

But Philip, exasperated by the part the English had taken in thus foiling all his pet schemes, again meditated a descent upon England, and once more (in 1596) the harbour of Cadiz was the scene of enormous preparations. This time it was determined to take the bull by the horns, and a great fleet, with six thousand soldiers on board, commanded by Howard of Effingham and Essex, made a daring descent upon that fort. The harbour was forced by the fleet, the castle and town stormed by the enemy,

a number of ships of war taken and destroyed, a large fleet of merchantmen burnt, together with an immense quantity of stores accumulated for the expedition. The loss in stores and merchandise alone

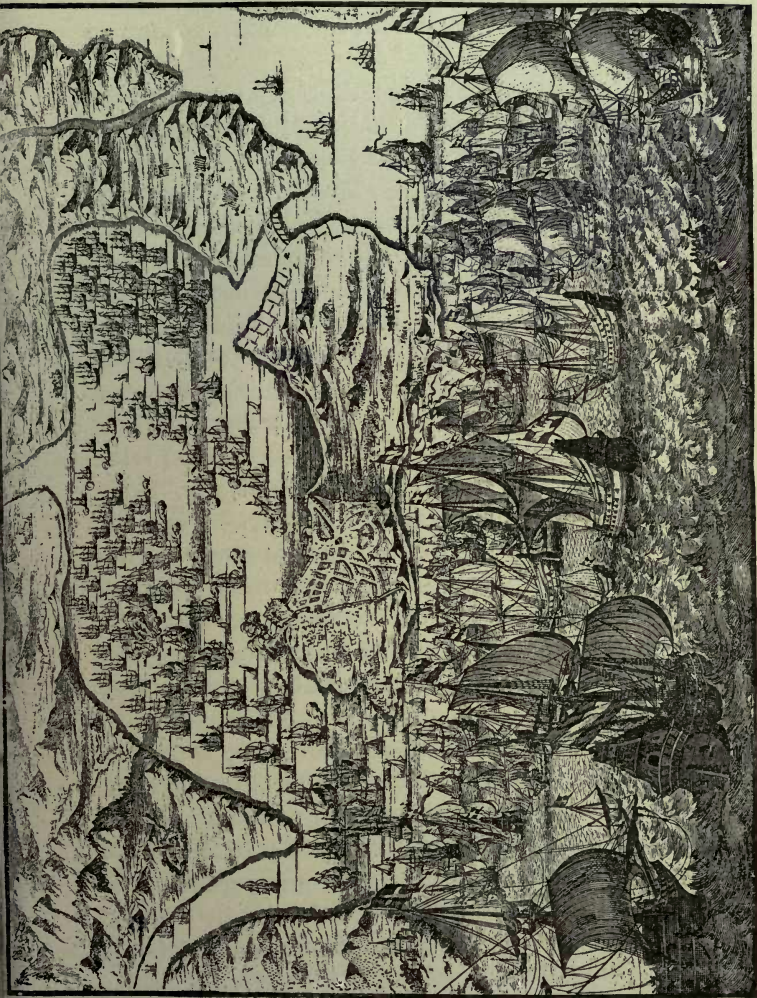


THE EARL OF ESSEX.

was estimated at twenty millions of ducats. The blow was a terrific one, and was generally regarded as being more deadly than the defeat of the Armada, so far as the actual fighting was concerned. Yet,

notwithstanding this disastrous smashing up of his ships and his plans, the following year saw another of the insane King's plots set forth for England; but, as though to give colour to the popular belief that the Almighty had England in special regard, the winds fell upon it ere it had well got out of the Spanish ports, and it returned wrecked and ineffectual from the Bay of Biscay. After that England was no longer troubled by any fear of invasion.

Important as they undoubtedly were, there was a sameness about most of these expeditions that is apt to become wearisome. Nevertheless, it is necessary to mention the Earl of Cumberland's last ventures, because of his attempt to give England a permanent foothold in the West Indies, where for upwards of thirty years she had been making such daring and persistent warfare with Spain. In January, 1597-98, he undertook the most formidable of his enterprises, sailing a few weeks later with no less than twenty ships, nearly all fitted out at his own cost, and himself taking the command in the *Malice Scourge*. Going by way of the Canaries, plundering as it went, the fleet rested for a short time at Dominica. From thence they proceeded to Porto Rico, and falling upon it, made themselves masters of San Juan. It was Cumberland's intention to clear out the Spaniards and turn the place into an English colony. He left Sir John Berkeley there with that purpose in view; but as, during the Earl's absence in pursuit of the treasure-fleet, sickness fell upon the troops, he decided to abandon the place, and rejoining his chief at Flores, they returned together to



England in October. And so another attempt to found an English settlement in America came to nought.

While these various expeditions were harrying the Spaniards nearer home, several important voyages of a more private nature were undertaken for similar ends farther afield. The first of these was that of Andrew Merrick to the South Sea in 1589, which, however, afforded little or nothing of moment. This was followed two years later by the second voyage of Cavendish, who, having squandered the fortune acquired in his first expedition, thought to replenish his coffers by another venture. He set out in August, 1591, with a fleet of three ships and two barques. He himself sailed in the *Leicester* galleon; his old ship, the *Desire*, being commanded by John Davis, the Arctic explorer, who, with his friends, put eleven hundred pounds into the venture. But the expedition seemed foredoomed to failure. All the accounts we have of it constitute one long record of disaster and misery, with treachery, or the suspicion of it, and mutiny and insubordination, tracking it from beginning to end. One suspects that Cavendish's free and unrestrained life of pleasure had unfitted him for command. Certainly he was the most to blame for the evils that befel him, resulting in his death of a broken heart while at sea. One geographical discovery—that of the Falkland Islands, by Davis,¹ after he had been separated from his chief—is worthy of mention.

¹ Burney.

In 1593 Richard Hawkins set out from Plymouth on a voyage round the world, which was intended to put the circumnavigations of Drake and Cavendish utterly in the shade. He was to leave nothing for future navigators to discover or describe. His ship was the *Repentance*, built by his father, but renamed the *Dainty* by Elizabeth, who admired her beautiful lines as she lay in the river opposite to Greenwich Palace. Richard Hawkins purchased her from his father, and about the middle of June sailed from Plymouth, accompanied by a pinnace and a victualler. He had a commission from the Queen to make war upon the King of Spain and his subjects, in consideration of which he was to reserve for the Crown one-fifth of all the "treasure, pearls, and jewels" that he should take. The *Dainty* reached the Pacific alone, and after plundering Valparaiso and ransoming some ships taken in the bay, the adventurers proceeded north, making a few prizes, and finally anchoring in the Bay of San Mateo, where, on the 19th of June, they were found by two Spanish ships of war, commanded by Don Baltran de Castro, brother-in-law of the Viceroy. The crew of the English ship, reduced by deaths to about seventy-five, was outnumbered by the Spaniards, it is said, as ten to one; nevertheless they made a heroic defence, keeping the enemy at bay for three days, and agreeing to terms only when Hawkins was so badly wounded that he had to be carried below. But for carelessness and bad management in preparing for the encounter, it is thought the *Dainty* might even have beaten off her

assailants and made good her escape. However, she did not succumb until she had received fourteen shots under the water-line, and was otherwise almost knocked to pieces, besides having most of her men killed or otherwise placed *hors de combat*. Although Don Baltran undertook, as a condition of surrender, to spare the lives of all on board, and send them safely to England, Hawkins narrowly escaped the Inquisition. He was carried to Spain, where he was thrown into prison, and only obtained his release after some years' imprisonment.

The one glaring fault of the men of Elizabeth's age was their lust of gold. They were never satisfied with enough, but wanted more and still more, It was this greed, more than anything else, that caused her reign to be barren as regards territorial expansion. After the shedding of much blood, it is true, Ireland was, towards her last years, finally conquered; but beyond that, notwithstanding all the fighting and filibustering that had been done, and all the voyages for exploration and colonisation, not an inch of settled land was added to the English Crown during Elizabeth's tenure of sovereignty. Had Raleigh found time to go out with his colonists, and superintend the formation of their first settlement, instead of adventuring in pursuit of the shadow of a dream, the El Dorado of the earlier voyages, he might have taken away that reproach from his mistress and her servants, besides winning for himself the glory of founding the first city of that great Western nation, which bids fair one day to outdo the greatness of the mother

country. But, finding the leisure himself to go on the wild-goose chase to Guiana, he was content to



INDIAN VILLAGE.

(From a drawing of the print in Harriot's *Relation*.)

trust the command of his settlers to the weak guidance of the Lanes and the Whites.

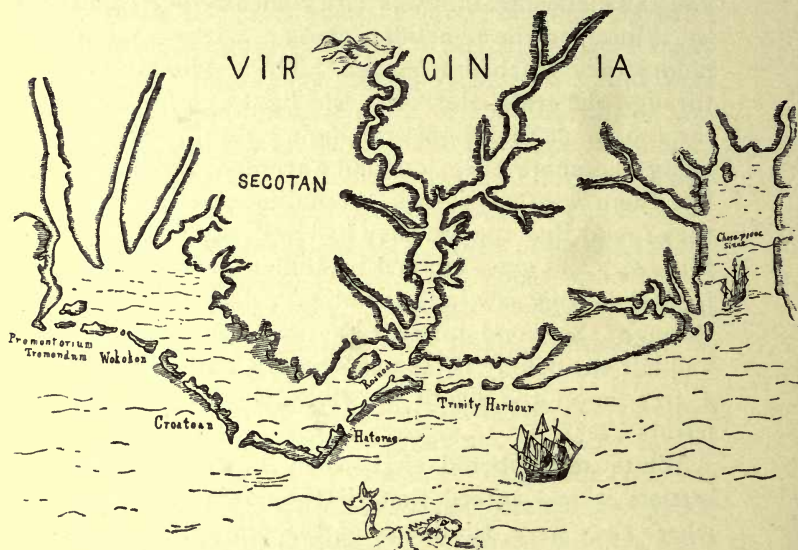
To Raleigh's Virginia enterprise it is now necessary to revert for a moment. The settlement at Roanoke, left to its own devices in the summer of 1587, recurred to men's thoughts in 1590, though even then it was with difficulty that White could get much notice paid to them. In the month of February of that year, however, hearing that three ships belonging to London merchants were ready to sail on a voyage to the West Indies, but were detained by a general order of the Council, he procured their release through the influence of Raleigh, on their agreement to carry a certain number of passengers to Virginia. They observed their agreement, however, so far as to take White himself, and no more. Sailing in March, they spent four months cruising against the Spaniards among the West India islands, capturing some prizes, and arriving at Wocokon on the 9th of August.

Six days later the ships anchored in Hatorask harbour, where, from a great smoke rising in the direction of Roanoke Island, on which the colonists had been left, White and his companions were made very hopeful of finding them. Next morning guns were fired at intervals to let the colonists know, if within hearing, of their arrival. Boats were put off, but before they reached the island smoke was seen rising in another direction, which increased their hopes. But after spending the day in getting to the place where it seemed to rise, they were disappointed to find neither colonists nor any sign of habitation. A disaster that happened next day well-nigh put an end to all further attempts to reach

Roanoke. Boats being sent ashore at Hatorask for water, and the surf in the inlet being heavy, one of the boats was capsized, and two of the captains of the vessels and five others were drowned. The remainder of the ships' companies were so disheartened at this mishap that they refused at first to go on, and this determination was with difficulty overcome by White and the remaining captain. It was night before they reached Roanoke. There, glimmering through the trees, they saw the light of a fire, and for a moment their hopes ran high. As they rowed along the shore they sounded a trumpet and sang; but there was no answer. Landing at daybreak, they found that the fire they had seen was from rotting trees and grass kindled by Indians, whose fresh footprints they saw in the sand. Pushing their way through the wood towards the spot where White had left the colony three years before, they came to a tree upon the trunk of which was carved the letters CRO.

White remembered that when he quitted the settlers it was agreed that, if they removed from where they were, the name of the place they went to should be left behind upon trees or door-posts. It was further understood that, had any misfortune befallen them, a cross should be carved beneath the name. The distance was not great from the tree to the deserted port, which was still surrounded by its palisades. Here all doubt was removed. At the entrance, upon one of the largest trees, was carved in capital letters the name "Croatoan." The houses had disappeared; but scattered about were

several large guns, and other articles too heavy to carry in a hasty removal, all overgrown with weeds. Some chests also were discovered that had been buried, amongst the number several that had belonged to White himself which had been dug up and rifled of their contents.



MAP OF VIRGINIA.

(From Harriot's *Relation*.)

The boats had hardly regained the ships at Hatorask, when a gale of wind, with a heavy sea, set in, and in attempting to weigh one of the vessels lost her anchors, and was near going ashore. The water-casks, which had been taken on shore to be filled, could not be brought off, provisions were short, and

it was determined to abandon the intention of going to Croatoan in search of the colony, but to proceed at once to the West Indies to take in fresh stores. White was only a passenger, and probably had not much influence to change this determination, though his friends, if still alive, were not many miles distant. He may have doubted whether they were still living, for the ships on their first arrival on the coast had sailed along the shores of Croatoan, and anchored for a night off the north end of the island. Had there been any survivors of the settlers there, they could hardly have failed, one would think, to see the passing ships, and to make their presence known to them. So, probably, White thought; but whether he considered them dead or not, it is difficult to justify his conduct in so readily acceding to the proposal to proceed to the West Indies. From thence the ships sailed to England. After that White made no further efforts to learn the fate of his daughter, her children, and the other settlers.

Sir Walter Raleigh, however, seems to have neglected no chance of finding his lost colony; but those whom he sent out to seek for them were never wanting in excuses for their failure to carry out the object of their mission. In 1602, that no divided interest should mar his purpose, he purchased a vessel and hired a crew to make a thorough search. The ship was put under the command of Samuel Mace, who twice before had been to Virginia, and was accounted an honest man; but he, like the rest, found something else to do besides searching for his missing countrymen. Raleigh was reluctant to give up the

belief that the colonists were still alive; but as those who were sent to their rescue made little or no effort to find them, one can only suppose that they deemed it more profitable to cruise for Spanish treasure than to seek for lost Englishmen. It was the general belief in later times that the Roanoke people were massacred soon after White left them; others, however, held, and not without reason, that some of them lived in captivity in neighbouring Indian villages for many years after.

In the following year (1603) Bartholomew Gilbert, Raleigh's nephew, went with two ships to Virginia, in the hope of finding the colonists. It was partly a trading voyage to the West Indies; but after taking in a cargo at the islands, he paid a visit to Chesapeake Bay on the way home. He had no sooner landed, however, than he and the other men with him were set upon by the Indians and slain. After this tragic affair, the ships' companies had the heart to attempt nothing further, and returned at once to England. Thus ended Raleigh's connection with that country respecting which he said to Sir Robert Cecil, "I shall still live to see it an English colony." In the same summer, while poor Gilbert lay dead upon the beach of Chesapeake Bay, Raleigh's patent, which had been renewed from time to time, expired by his attainder.

Meanwhile, in the previous year (1602), an interesting and important voyage had been made to the shores of what is now New England. The commander of it was Bartholomew Gosnold, who sailed from Falmouth on the 25th of March, in a small



SIR WALTER RALEIGH'S CONQUEST OF THE CITY OF ST. JOSEPH
IN THE ISLAND OF TRINIDAD.

ship called the *Concord*, the ill-starred Bartholomew Gilbert being his second in command. The expedition was sent out by the Earl of Southampton, with Raleigh's consent. Gosnold took with him thirty-two persons, twenty of whom were to remain and found a settlement on the Northern coast of Virginia, which then comprised the whole of the country from the thirty-fourth to the forty-fifth parallel of latitude. Contrary winds drove them south as far as the Azores, whence, steering nearly due west, they arrived on the American coast as about lat. 40° on the 14th of May.

At a point which Gosnold called Savage Rock, supposed to have been in the neighbourhood of Cape Ann, the *Concord* was boarded by a party of Indians in a Biscayan sloop, carrying both sails and oars. Their leader and one or two others were partially clad in European garments, which, as well as their boat, they had obtained from Biscay fisherman. Nor was this the only evidence of their intercourse with Europeans, for in the *Relation of Captain Gosnold's Voyage*, in Purchas,¹ it is said, "They spoke divers Christian words, and seemed to understand more than we, for want of language, could comprehend."

Finding no good harbour at this place, Gosnold, stood southwards, crossed Massachusetts Bay, and the next morning dropped anchor within a league of the shore, under the lee of a great promontory. Gosnold, on account of the number of codfish there seen, called it Cape Cod. Champlain, four years

¹ Vol. ii.

later, called it Cape Blanc, and in 1614, Captain John Smith named it Cape James; but the first designation is the one by which it has ever since been known. Doubling the headland, they sailed for six days along the outer coast of the promontory, which it is supposed the Northmen had discovered six hundred years before. As they went along they came in contact with many more Indians, and saw other evidences of their communication with Europeans.

Crossing the Vineland Sound (I follow Bryant's *Popular History of the United States*), they came "amongst many fair islands, on one of which they landed. It was full of woods and fruit-bearing bushes, with such an incredible store of vines running upon every tree, that they could not walk for treading upon them." These, also, were supposed to be remnants of the Northmen. To the island on which they first landed, Gosnold gave the name of Martha's Vineyard, a name which still pertains to the largest of the group. Thence they sailed into Buzzard's Bay. It seemed to them to be one of the "stateliest" of sounds, and worthy to be called Gosnold's Hope. On an island now known by its Indian name of Cuttyhunk, but which Gosnold called Elizabeth, it was decided to plant the colony.

The soil was fat and lusty. The seed of various grains, planted by way of experiment, sprung up in fourteen days to a height of from six to nine inches. "Indeed," says Bryant, "on all the coast no more enticing place could be found, than this lovely island, with its Southern side to the sea, the Gulf Stream

winding in near enough to warm the tides that washed its shores." In a lake two or three miles in circuit, one end of it only a few yards from the outer beach, was a rocky islet—an island within an island—and on this they resolved to build a fort. The larger part of the company at once set to work, and for the next three weeks were busy on a place for habitation and defence, while a few, "and those but easy labourers," employed themselves in gathering sassafras.

The Indians were frequent visitors, and from them they had hopes that copper was to be had not far away. Gosnold visited the islands of the group, and explored the main in the direction of the present town of Bedford, and found it to be "the goodliest continent that ever we saw, promising more by far than we did expect; for it is replenished with fair fields, and in them fragrant flowers, also meadows, and hedged in with stately groves, being furnished also with pleasant brooks, and beautiful with two main rivers."¹

The natives were not unfriendly; and in a place so pleasant, with so much that was encouraging, this might have been the first English colony on the American continent had the *Concord* been better provided. But when the time came for the vessel to return, it was found that only enough stores could be spared to sustain those who were to remain for six weeks. In the uncertainty as to whether they could obtain food from the natives, and how long it might be before succour could be sent to them

¹ Archer's *Relation*, in *Purchas his Pilgrimes*.

from home, it was deemed prudent to leave no one behind. On the 18th of June they sailed for England, and on the 23d of July arrived off Exmouth. Though a failure as regards its immediate purpose, this voyage of Gosnold's was not without important results. The favourable reports of the voyagers were eagerly listened to, and by none more than "Master Richard Hakluyt, Prebendary of St. Augustine's, Bristol," who used every "probable and reasonable inducement" to the merchants of that town to continue the work of discovery. Permission was obtained of Raleigh, a thousand pounds were raised, and two small barques, of fifty and twenty-six tons, respectively, were fitted out under Martin Pring, who was out the previous year with Gosnold. The expedition sailed from Bristol on the 10th of April, 1603, a few days after the death of Elizabeth. Running along the coast of Maine they stopped long enough in Casco Bay to find the fishing better than off Newfoundland. Proceeding thence as far as Buzzard's Bay, trading with the natives whenever he could, Pring was back in England within six months, both his ships well laden, and with much additional knowledge of the new country.





CHAPTER IX.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

AMID all the noise and rumour of fighting and sea-scouring for plunder and adventure one is apt to lose sight of the other side of the national life, that of the quiet development of the arts of peace. Side by side with an enormous out-rush of maritime energy, and to some extent under the shelter of it, there had grown up a widely ramified and ever-bolder mercantile marine, backed and fed by the constantly increasing manufacturing industry of the people. With every year of peaceful development the wealth of the country had become augmented, and every year that growing wealth was employed with greater security in trade and industrial activities of one kind or another, and in seeking fresh outlets for commercial enterprise. Before the close of the century the trading companies had increased to such an extent that there was hardly a single country except France with which English merchants could do business without being members of one company or another.¹ Yet there was still one more to be estab-

¹ Green.

lished, that was destined to outdo them all as regards its influence upon the future development of England.

As early as the middle of the century English merchants had been stretching out their hands towards India and the farther East. So far back as 1511 we have seen that ships from London, Southampton, and Bristol were carrying woollen goods, calfskins, and the like, to Syrian ports, as well as to ports in the Greek Archipelago, bringing back in exchange, besides wines, oil, and cotton, the precious spices of India. Although many of the ships engaged in this trade were English, the major part of them were foreign vessels in the employ of English merchants. A voyage usually occupied a year, and was attended with much difficulty and danger. The number of native ships in this traffic gradually increased; and on account of the many perils to which vessels engaged therein were subject, it became the custom for them to go in fleets for mutual protection. Possibly it was by reason of these risks that merchants were compelled to seek other and safer routes for carrying on their trade with the East—this and the growing competition to which they were exposed by the sea-route followed by the Portuguese round the Cape of Good Hope.

For a time, as we have seen, there were hopes of a shorter and possibly safer route to China and the East generally by a north-east or north-west passage; but after the failure of many of the expeditions to find outlets in that direction, either east or west, increased efforts were devoted to the exploiting of the

known routes. In 1550, Captain Bodenham, with "the great barke *Aucher*," went to Chios, and three years later, we read, Anthony Jenkinson paid a visit to Aleppo, and obtained from Solyman the Great "a safe conduct or privilege," permitting him to trade in Turkish ports, "with his ship or ships, or other vessels," without hindrance, and free of any extraordinary custom or toll. This "privilege," it is said, was the foundation of our future capitulations, and the first beginning of the Levant Company.¹

In consequence of his success with Solyman, Jenkinson, in 1557, was sent by the Russia or Muscovy Company to see what could be done in the way of developing an Eastern trade through Russia. He sailed from Gravesend as Captain-General of the Company's fleet about the middle of May, and arrived at St. Nicolas, at the mouth of the Dwina, a month later. From this port, leaving the ships to discharge and take in a fresh cargo, Jenkinson proceeded to Moscow, where he had an interview with the Tsar, with whose permission he presently set out on a voyage down the Volga to Astrakhan, whence he crossed the Caspian Sea to Persia, and so by way of Khiva to Bokhara, which he found to be the resort of merchants not only from Russia, Persia, and India, but from "far Cathay." From China to Bokhara the journey occupied nine months. Jenkinson was back in Moscow towards the end of 1559, but did not reach England till the following year. His mission—that of opening up a trade between the

¹ *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant.*

Company's Russian factories and the East through Persia—was so successful that he is said to have made no fewer than six subsequent journeys to Central Asia by the same route, in one of them obtaining from the ruler of Persia an immunity from tolls and customs for the Company's merchandise, and full protection for their persons and wares. He obtained also from the Tsar the monopoly of the White Sea trade for the Russia Company.

Jenkinson subsequently went to Moscow with the appointment of Ambassador from Queen Elizabeth to the Tsar, and succeeded in obtaining a restoration of the Company's privileges, which that ruler had withdrawn, as well as in reinstating their affairs, which from loss and mismanagement had fallen into disorder. This trade with the East, however, which was established by Jenkinson's intelligence and energy, soon fell away when it became dependent on others, and it was not revived for many long years—not, indeed, until the time of George II.¹

The reason for this was probably the fact that the Russia Company very soon had a lively competitor in the Levant Company, which was incorporated in 1581 for carrying on a trade with Turkey, with which country, their charter declared, they had at great cost opened up a trade “not heretofore in the memory of any man now living known to be commonly used and frequented by way of merchandise.” In the second year after their incorporation this company sent several merchant adventurers to open up a new way to India *via* the Euphrates Valley. The chief

¹ *Pictorial History of England.*

of these were Ralph Fitch and J. Newberry, who were accompanied by J. Eldred, W. Leedes, a jeweller, and J. Story, a painter. Setting out from London in February, in the *Tiger*, they proceeded first to Tripoli in Syria, and then to Aleppo, from which place they made their way to Bir on the Euphrates. Going thence by boat to Felejah, which they reached on the 29th of June, they continued their journey by camels, travelling at night to avoid the heat, and arrived at Bagdad on the 22d of July. From this place they descended the Tigris in flat-bottomed boats to Bassorah, at the head of the Persian Gulf. Here Fitch and his companions left Eldred to trade, and proceeded to Ormuz, where they were thrown into prison by the Portuguese governor—it is said at the instigation of some Venetians, who were jealous of their rivalry. After being detained here about a month, they were shipped (11th of October) to Goa, the headquarters of the Portuguese in the East Indies, and the residence of the Viceroy. Arriving there at the end of November, they were, for their “better entertainment,” as Fitch puts it,¹ “presently put into a fair strong prison, where we continued until 22 December.”

Story here, for a time, turned monk; but the other three, having been set at liberty through the kindly offices of two Jesuit fathers—one of whom was Thomas Stevens, the first Englishman known to have reached India by way of the Cape,² and the rector of the Jesuits' College in Salsette. After investing what money they had left in precious stones,

¹ Hakluyt, vol. ii.

² *Nat. Dict. Biog.*

they escaped across the river from Goa, and making their way through the Deccan to Golconda, near Hyderabad, proceeded thence to the court of Akbar. Fitch and his two companions remained here until September, 1585, when Newberry set out for Lahore, and was never heard of again.

Fitch then, leaving Leedes in the service of Akbar, went by boat down the Jumna to Allahabad, proceeding thence from place to place down the Ganges. For the next five years he visited Pegu, Siam, Malacca, and other parts of the East Indies, including Ceylon and Cochin, noticing everything, and making every possible inquiry that could be of service in the interests of trade, finally arriving once more at Bassorah, from which place he went by the Tigris to Mosul, and thence again to Bir on the Euphrates. Fitch thus concludes the account of his long and devious journeyings: "From Bir I went to Aleppo, where I stayed certain months for company, and then went to Tripolis, where, finding English I came with a prosperous voyage to London, where, by God's assistance, I safely arrived on the 29th of April, 1591, having been eight years out of my native country."¹

A trade carried on by the overland route to India and the East generally, however, could never have enabled the English merchants to compete with their Portuguese rivals, even if it had been all plain sailing; but, apart from the natural difficulties of the Mediterranean navigation, following upon the long land journey, there were other reasons why

¹ Hakluyt.

English merchants should wish for a better way of procuring the products of the East. The Mediterranean had always been dangerous on account of the corsairs infesting it; but it had become doubly so to the English since the breaking out of the war with Spain, seeing that, in passing the Strait of Gibraltar, they were liable to injury, if not capture, by the Spanish ships ever lying in wait there for English traders. However, the Englishmen generally gave a good account of themselves, and not unfrequently came off victorious against great odds. Hakluyt, who had a fine feeling for the heroics of his age, gives us several simple, though stirring, accounts of such episodes of sixteenth-century trade. In one instance we have a "notable fight of ten English merchant vessels against twelve Spanish galleons" in the Strait of Gibraltar, on the 24th of April, 1590. The Spanish fleet "lay under the conduct of Andre Doria," who was "a notable known enemy to all Englishmen." When the English merchantmen saw the Spaniards lying in wait for them, and that a fight was inevitable, they arranged that the four first and tallest should be placed hindmost, and the smaller and weaker ships in the van. The *Solomon* was one of the leading four, and "a hot ship." She accordingly opened proceedings by giving one of the foremost galleons "such a sour shot" that it pierced her through in such a way that she was ready to sink, besides killing a great many men. This caused the Spanish fleet to assault the English the more fiercely. Whereupon the rest of the English ships, and especially the four principal ones—"the

Margaret and *John*, the *Minion* and the *Ascension*”—made their guns speak. A hot battle followed, which continued for six hours. After that, says the account in Hakluyt, the Spaniards had had enough, and were glad to take refuge in harbour. Little damage was received by the English vessels except the *Solomon*, which gave the last as well as the first shot. She lost her shroud and backstay, which were shot clean away. Two Flemish vessels came up during the action to assist the English, but one, seeing so many against them, allowed itself to be taken. The second would have followed its example, “had not the trumpeter pulled out his faulchion and threatened the pilot that he would kill him if he did not join the English. Which he did.” The Governor of Gibraltar ordered Doria to go out and reopen proceedings with the English; but his galleons were in such a bad plight after his first encounter that he declined.

The following year the *Centurion*, of London, commanded by Robert Bradshaw, of Limehouse, was attacked by five Spanish galleys while she was lying becalmed in the strait. As in the preceding case, it was Easter Day. The *Centurion* had waited at Marseilles for three other ships, including the *Dolphin*, that wished for her company. These lay off when the *Centurion* was attacked—two of the galleys taking her on either side, and the Admiral at the stern. They poured their shot into her, and tried to board; but the *Centurion's* people gave the boarders such warm reception whenever they tried to get over the side, that, though they kept up the

fight for five and a half hours, they were at length constrained to draw off. The *Centurion*, which was several times set alight with wildfire, came out of the contest badly battered, her mainmast shot through, and four of her men killed. After the galleys had left the *Centurion* they set upon the *Dolphin*, which had stood aloof, giving no help in the fight, and was so damaged by the firing of her own powder that she sank. The other two vessels, taking advantage of a rising breeze, managed to get away. The next day, while the *Centurion* was putting herself to rights, six other galleys ran out of the harbour and took a look at her, but, finding that she had still got the appearance of fight in her, they decided not to meddle.

Even before Ralph Fitch's return from his Eastern journeyings it had come to be generally¹ felt that the sea-route by the Cape of Good Hope was the one which the course of trade to India and China must inevitably take. Indeed, as early as 1589, within a year of Cavendish's return from his voyage around the world, bringing such a favourable account of the possibilities of trade in the East, a petition was presented to the Queen from sundry merchants asking permission to make trading ventures to India by sea; and on the 10th of April, 1591, nearly at the very moment when Fitch made his reappearance, three ships, fitted out by members of the Turkey Company, sailed from Plymouth for the East Indies, under the command of James Lancaster, a man who had seen a good deal of service in

¹ *Pictorial History of England.*

Portuguese ships. Setting out early in April, the expedition reached Table Bay on the 1st of August. From that port one of the vessels returned home with sick men, the other two ships pursuing their voyage on September the 8th. A few days later, however, the *Penelope* foundered with all hands off Cape Corrientes, while on the 16th of September, in a violent storm, the commander's ship, the *Edward Bonaventure*, was struck by lightning, and had many of her crew either killed or injured.

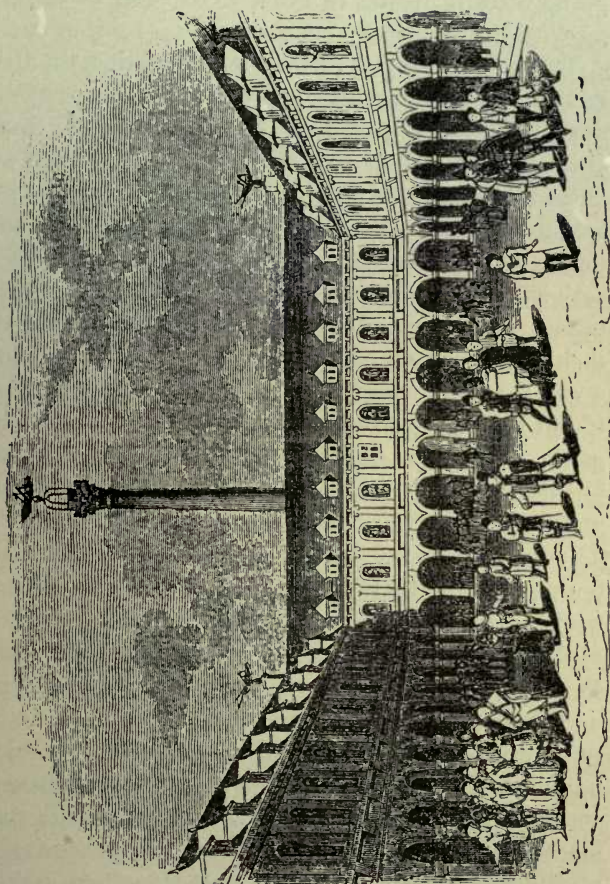
These were only the beginning of disasters. At the Comoro Islands, off the north-west coast of Madagascar, in an affray with natives, they lost the master and thirty men. Proceeding thence about the middle of February, they doubled Cape Comorin, the southern extremity of India, towards the end of May, and in June reached Pulo Penang so greatly reduced in numbers that, after landing the sick, they had only thirty-three men and a boy left, and not all of these were fit for work; whereas, when the two vessels left Table Bay they numbered in all just upon two hundred men. Putting to sea again about the middle of August, the *Edward Bonaventure* cruised for some time on the Malabar coast, capturing several Portuguese vessels, one of them laden with pepper, while another of seven hundred and fifty tons burden had a rich general cargo. Proceeding next to Ceylon, she anchored at Point de Galle. There the crew mutinied, and insisted upon Captain Lancaster steering at once for England. Being at the time very unwell, he found himself obliged to yield to their wishes, and so, early in December, they sailed

for the Cape of Good Hope, which was passed on the 21st of March, 1593. After touching at St. Helena and Trinidad in the West Indies, "in the fond hope there to find refreshing," they steered for Porto Rico, and at the small island of Mona fell in with a French ship from which they purchased needed stores. After a series of misadventures in these waters, the *Edward Bonaventure* arrived in England with only five men and a boy on board, having been driven from her anchorage at Mona in a gale, while the captain and most of his people were on shore. These, by means of a French ship, were finally enabled to reach Rye, where they landed in May, 1594, after having been absent three years and four months. It is characteristic of the age and its marauding instincts, that Lancaster sailed the same year on a plundering expedition to Pernambuco, and after some terribly rough work, came home with a rich cargo.

About the same time as Lancaster's expedition, Sir Robert Dudley and other London merchants sent out three ships to the East, which were even more unfortunate than the *Edward Bonaventure* and her companions.

Meanwhile, the war with Spain had cut off the usual supply of Eastern products through the Portuguese, one consequence of which was that the price of pepper is said to have risen from three shillings to eight shillings a pound.¹ Other products of the East had become equally dear. These commodities

¹ Harrison, writing before the Armada, speaks of its having been sold at twelpence and sixteenpence a pound.



were now only to be had through the Dutch, who, going into the trade in 1595, were soon carrying it on with extraordinary success.

There is nothing in history more striking than the recovery of the Netherlands from the effects of the destructive wars waged by them against the Spaniards. After the defeat of the Armada, which was almost as momentous to them as to England, they sprang within a few years to their former pre-eminence in trade and manufactures. The centres of activity, however, were slightly changed, Amsterdam taking the place of Bruges and Antwerp. On the sacking of the latter place in 1585, following so close upon the like disaster in 1567, much of its trade found its way to London, which from that time began to assume the position and influence of the great business and financial centre which it has ever since maintained. The Royal Exchange, the gift of Sir Thomas Gresham, had already risen, almost contemporaneous with the first sack of Antwerp, of whose Bourse it was an imitation. The cities of Holland benefitted from the downfall of the latter even more than London. Before the end of the century the commercial activity of the Dutch was almost supreme. It had outrun the English in many branches of foreign trade. The Dutch fishermen were competing with our own in the whale-fishery; their merchants had already established factories for trade on the west coast of Africa, and they had made a successful start in the opening up of a trade in the Eastern seas, which soon became, and has remained to this day, a source of unbounded wealth to them.

It was confessedly the splendid success of the first efforts of the Dutch in this direct trade with the East Indies that set the merchants of London about making a determined attempt in that direction themselves. In 1599, to further the interests of the merchants of the Turkey Company, Sir John Mildenhall was sent to the Court of the Great Mogul with a view to establishing a trade with the subjects of that potentate. He did not reach Agra, however, till 1603, and even then, though he obtained some important commercial privileges for his company from the Mohamedan ruler, his complete success was frustrated by the intrigues of the Portuguese.

In the meantime the initial steps had been taken towards the founding of a company for trade in the East which was destined in the long run to overshadow the Turkey Company, and to make all other mercantile corporations appear but as pigmies in comparison with it. On the 22d of September, 1599, the Lord Mayor, the aldermen, and various merchants of London to the number of about a hundred, assembled in Founders' Hall to form themselves into an association for trading to India, for which purpose they subscribed on the spot a capital of £30,000, and elected fifteen gentlemen as a committee of management. At a subsequent meeting a petition was drawn up to the Privy Council, wherein the company represented, that, stimulated by the success which had attended voyages to the East Indies already made by the Dutch, who were then fitting out another expedition for which they had purchased ships in England, the associated merchants had re-

solved to make a voyage of adventure of the same kind, and for that purpose entreated that her Majesty would grant them letters patent of incorporation, "seeing that the said trade, being so remote, could not be carried on except by joint and united stock."

This movement led, after a delay occasioned by the prospects of peace, to the granting of a charter of incorporation under the name of "The Governor and Company of the Merchants of London trading to the East Indies." The charter, which contained the names of a large number of gentlemen, was signed by the Queen on the 31st of December, 1600. Amongst other privileges, it conferred exclusive rights to trade for fifteen years to all parts of Asia, Africa, and America, beyond the Cape of Good Hope eastward as far as the Straits of Magellan, "excepting such countries or ports as might be in the actual possession of any Christian Prince in comity with the Queen."

The new company lost no time in fitting out and despatching their first venture. It consisted of four ships—"the best that could be found in England." One of them was the *Red Dragon*, formerly the *Malice Scourge*, built by the Earl of Cumberland for his own special warfare against the King of Spain. It was a vessel of six hundred tons, and was accompanied by the *Hector*, the *Ascension*, and the *Susan*, the latter, the smallest of the fleet, being of two hundred and forty tons. They carried in all four hundred and eighty-one men, and were placed under the command of Captain Lancaster, who was styled the Admiral of the fleet, and was invested by

the Queen with a commission to exercise martial law—this probably in consequence of the mutiny of his men on his previous expedition. Lancaster was also supplied with letters to Eastern kings with whom he might have to negotiate. The little fleet dropped down the river from Woolwich on the 13th of February, proceeding thence to Torbay, whence it finally sailed on the 20th of April, 1601. It did not reach Acheen, in Sumatra, until the beginning of January in the following year. Here they met with a favourable reception. In the Strait of Malacca they captured a large Portuguese vessel, having on board calicoes and spices enough to load all their ships. Thus suddenly and easily enriched, they bore away for Bantam, in the island of Java, and left some agents there, who thus constituted the first beginnings of the company's factories. This being done, the expedition set sail for England, which it reached in safety in September, 1603, consequently six months after the Queen's death.

Little more need be said here concerning the great Queen's reign. As regards its brilliant external and material achievements, it has been followed carefully to its close. There are many movements and many events which in a complete history of the people it would have been necessary to touch upon. They do not, however, come within the scope of this work, whose aim is rather to describe results than to trace causes. It may seem as though, in a record like this, the Burleighs, the Walsinghams, the Leicesters, the Hattons, the Bacons, and others of the same category should have come more prominently into the

account. But in reality, these respectable ministers and servants of the Queen did very little for the growth and expansion of England, in comparison



LORD BURLEIGH.

with others whose names stand in the forefront of this narrative. To use a homely simile, they were, many of them, honest, and some of them undoubt-

edly able and well-meaning shop-walkers, clerks, and counter-men for the queenly shopkeeper, but it was the Drakes, the Howards, the Hawkinses, the Grenvilles, the Frobishers, and a host of others who did the travelling for the concern, who stirred up the business, and made the firm known and respected all over the world. With them was all the initiative, all the originality. There never was a time when such might came out of the bosom of the people—when so much lustre was thrown upon the annals of the country by the common folk in almost every department of activity, ingenuity, and thought. But in this essay much that redounded immensely to the advantage and glory of the nation has of necessity to be passed over, or merely glanced at, in order that greater attention may be paid to the more outward and physical acts and deeds that went to the building up of the Empire.

Hence, it does not come within our scope to touch upon religious questions, except in so far as they tended to bring out the character of the people, and thus influence the material progress or welfare of the country. In this respect the English people, during the latter part of Elizabeth's reign, began to show signs of a decided change in their habits of thought, or, to put it more precisely, in their manner of contemplating life; and this change was destined to have the most momentous and far-reaching results. One of the primary effects of the revolt from the Papacy was to start that crusade against Spanish trade and exclusiveness which were to the English the visible sign and token of the obnoxious

system. Most of the freebooters were, no doubt, influenced as much by the desire for gain as by any particular zeal for the extirpation of religious bigotry or the advancement of freedom. It is even possible that the greed for wealth may have been much the stronger motive, and one is naturally apt to suspect that it was. And yet it is impossible to read the simple narratives of their doings without being struck by the fervour of hate which many of these men had for the Spaniards, as well as by the undoubted sincerity of their religious feeling. One may not, perhaps, be able to entertain much respect for the religion of a man like Sir John Hawkins; but there can be no question that such as he found their energies quickened and their zeal heightened by their detestation of a system whereof they had come to entertain a supreme contempt. In that respect they are no more to be blamed for hypocrisy than the Spaniards, who, though doubtless very anxious to convert the natives of the Western world with whom they came in contact, were mainly influenced in all their doings in America by lust and greed.

There is no need at this time of day for any apology for the motives and actions of the seamen of Elizabeth's age. They lived and fought as seemed to them best, and according to their lights and the circumstances in which they lived. Every evil carries within itself the stimulus for its own undoing—every wrong the whip for its own chastisement. In human affairs there is never a recoil or a back-stroke but it is in due proportion to the first blow—to the original impulse. And so it was with Elizabeth's paladins.

They found themselves living under the threat of the grossest spiritual and material tyranny of any age. It was resist or be crushed, and they resisted.



LORD WALSHINGHAM.

They might have done otherwise than they did, if they had had our wisdom to guide them, or our superior humanity as an example. But they were the

rough children of a rude age, for the most part coarse and uncultured; nevertheless, they had that in them which made our later England possible. The better part of them were even then in quiet revolt against the crude external reading of a doctrine of life which is essentially one of peace—in revolt against its banalities and brutalities, and in that revolt they were laying the foundations of a greater greatness yet to come. Whatever may be said to the contrary, they were the salt of the earth so far as Elizabeth's England was concerned; and it is the worst blot upon the Queen's fair fame that in her later years she turned her hand against them, though they had been among the staunchest of her supporters.

One need not wonder much that she did so, because the religion or philosophy that these men professed, when carried to its ultimate, is a law to itself, and the negation of all external government. But the human race has to go through a long period of education in self-government and self-control before it can hope to reach that high goal.

Meanwhile, Elizabeth's intolerance served the purpose of most persecutions: it stamped the seed of Puritanism deeper in the soil in which it had taken root, and so caused it to send forth stronger and more enduring shoots, and ultimately to bring forth fruits which, if a little lacking in the sweetness they might have had under more genial circumstances, exercised, on the whole, a finely bracing and purifying influence upon the English character, and produced results after a while the effects of which

are to-day working for good wherever the Anglo-Saxon speech is heard.

It might have been better if there had been no persecution. But we must not blame the Queen and her Councillors too much; for they, on the whole, gave the people a pretty free hand, and it was probably that circumstance as much as any other which caused the latter half of the sixteenth century to be more potent for good as regards the ultimate destinies of the race than perhaps any other epoch of our history. There is no parallel to it until we come to the reign of our present Queen; and one is led to the inference that a female sovereign is content to do less governing than a male, and that the legitimate energies of the people have in consequence less check put upon them, with the result that free and almost unrestrained scope is given to private enterprise and initiative.

SIGNATURE OF ELIZABETH.

(Harleian MS., No. 285.)



BOOK II.

LAYING THE FOUNDATIONS.

CHAPTER I.

ENGLAND'S FIRST COLONY.

WHEN we turn the page from Elizabeth to James I. a new world seems to be presented to our gaze. Most of the heroic figures that had played such a prominent part in the doings of the past quarter-century have struck their flags to death, that never struck to mortal foe, and taken their quietus, leaving the field and the fight to another and a smaller race of men. It is as though the mocking spirit of Time had waved his wand, and with the word "change" had suddenly produced a complete transformation upon the world's stage. Of course, the change was not so great as would at first sight appear. The deception arises in part from the fact that our eyes are upon the two central figures of their respective epochs, and the descent is so great from the heroic stature of Tudor Elizabeth to that of the pigmy Stuart, with his fantastic ravings about his Divine right, in such strange contrast to the very antithesis

of any thing Divine, or even moderately kingly, in character, that we are apt to forget for the moment that this is only a figure-head tossed up by the stream of time, the main current being for the most part shrouded in mists and darkness, and only occasionally emerging into the light of day, as when rocks check the flood and the cataracts are near.

Dangers of the kind were threatening when James I. came to the throne. One with the courage and wisdom of Elizabeth might not only have carried the ship of State safely through them, but might even have left the waters moderately calm. James, however, was neither wise nor brave. He stirred the cauldron of trouble the wrong way, and stirred it with the hand of a poltroon. Instead of endeavouring to allay the growing ferment in regard to religion, he increased it by almost every means in his power. His unwisdom, however, did more in one respect than the continued efforts of many of the leading minds of the previous reign. But in that we have only one of the many instances which meet the gaze of the student of history, wherein the building up of the manifold parts of the Empire was effected by the people, not merely without, but often in spite of, rulers, whom, for their sins, a chastening Providence had placed over them.

Although for well-nigh twenty years Elizabeth's doughty vikings had made effort after effort, and spent fortunes in the attempt, to establish over-sea colonies, yet when James I. came to the throne England was still without a settlement abroad. It is a curious coincidence, and one perhaps worth

noting, that all these various and praiseworthy efforts should have been frustrated and of non-effect until the three Kingdoms were united under one Crown—until, in short, England practically became Great Britain. It may therefore with truth be said that the honour and glory of founding the Empire does not belong exclusively to England, but is shared from the commencement by the united peoples of these islands.

In saying this, however, we must not give to a Stuart the honour that is due to a Tudor. For although Elizabeth did not live to behold the successful launching of an English colony in America, it was nevertheless largely due to her policy that, after the many miserable failures, a settlement was at length started in Virginia after her death. The credit of this renewed effort belongs not a little to Bartholomew Gosnold, who, says Bryant, “deserves to be remembered next to Raleigh among the direct founders of the American colonies.”¹ As the result of the enthusiasm of such men as Richard Hakluyt and others, an association was formed “composed of some of the most influential and respectable persons in the kingdom, and which determined beyond a doubt the future of North America.”²

Letters patent were granted by James I. in April, 1606, to Sir George Somers, Richard Hakluyt, Edward Maria Wingfield, and others who should be joined to them for the settlement of the territory on the American coast between N. Lat. 34° and 45°, and the islands within a hundred miles. The char-

¹ *Popular History of the United States.*

² *Ibid.*

ter required that two companies should be formed, one to be called the first or southern colony, the other the second or northern colony. The jurisdiction of the first colony, whose Council was chiefly composed of gentlemen and merchants of London, and hence was known as the London Company, extended from the 34th to the 41st degree of N. Lat. The other, called the Plymouth Company, because of its Council being appointed from that town and neighbourhood, enjoyed control of the land from the 38th to the 45th degree N. Lat. By an unaccountable oversight three degrees were left common to both companies. To obviate contention, however, it was enacted that wherever one company had first erected its tent in this debatable land, the other was to choose its location a hundred miles off, and from the first station each was to have fifty miles on either side.

Each colony was to be governed by a resident Council of thirteen, to be appointed by the King, with power to choose a president from their own body and to fill any vacancies occurring among themselves from resignation or death. A third Council, resident in England, and appointed by the King, was designated the Council of Virginia. Homage and rent were to be paid, the latter to consist of a fifth of all gold and silver discovered, and a sixteenth of all copper. The right of coining money was granted, and a duty on trading vessels was to be the privilege of the colony for twenty-one years, at the end of which term it was to become the right of the King. The colony was to be exempt from

all customs for seven years. The settlers were to retain all their rights as English subjects, and the religion was to be that of the Established Church. Real estate was to be held as under the law of England; but for five years from the commencement of the colony all personal property and the fruits of the labour of the settlers were to be held as a common stock, and each member of the community was to be supported from the general store.¹

In the summer of 1606 two ships were sent out under the auspices of the Plymouth Company—one in May, commanded by Martin Pring; the other in August, under the charge of Henry Chalong. The latter was taken by Spaniards; but Pring sailed along the coast of Maine, and on his return made so favourable a report that it was resolved to send out an expedition next year to form a settlement on the Sagadahock. It duly set sail, carrying over a number of emigrants. Having landed them on a peninsula at the mouth of that river, and built a fort and storehouse, the ships returned to England, leaving a colony of forty-five persons. The winter proved so severe, however, that in the spring the settlers returned home disheartened. Although their report deterred others from venturing to form a colony, a trade in fish and furs was opened up with the aborigines.

Meanwhile, on the 19th of December, 1606, three small vessels, under the command of Christopher Newport, were sent out by the London Company. They carried one hundred and five emigrants, of

¹ Bryant.

which only twenty were mechanics. Of the rest, some were soldiers, some servants, while nearly half of the entire number were, says Bryant, "gentlemen who looked on labour as a degradation." Among the more notable persons of the company were Bartholomew Gosnold; Gabriel Archer, Gosnold's companion in the *Concord*; Edward Wingfield; the Rev. Robert Hunt, the chaplain, "a good man who soon had enough to do to keep the hands of his charge from each other's throats"; George Percy, a brother of the Earl of Northumberland; and John Smith, who had already seen service as a soldier of fortune in the war against the Turks. Quarrels broke out before the voyage was ended, and Smith was seized and kept a prisoner for three weeks on the pretence that he designed to murder the Council and make himself King of Virginia. The cause of dispute appears to have been the fact that the London Council had deemed it advisable to put the names of the resident Council in a sealed box, which was not to be opened until the colonists landed. They sailed into Chesapeake Bay on the 26th of April, 1607, and on the night of arrival the sealed box was opened, when it was found that the Council was to consist of Gosnold, Smith, Wingfield, Newport, John Ratcliffe, John Martin, and George Kendall.

Upwards of a fortnight was spent in looking for a suitable place to plant the colony, the surroundings of the bay presenting an embarrassment of riches—"mountains, hills, plains, valleys, rivulets, and brooks gurgling down and running most pleasantly into a fair bay, encompassed on all sides, except the

mouth, with fruitful and delightsome land; so that heaven and earth seemed never to have agreed better to frame a place for man's commodious and delightful habitation, were it fully cultivated and inhabited by industrious people." Finally, on the 13th of May, they fixed upon a peninsula about forty miles north from the mouth of the Powhatan as the site of the settlement. Then "falleth every man to worke; the Council contrive the forte, the rest cut down trees to make place to pitch their tent; some provide clap-board to relade their ships, some make gardens, some nets." ¹

The Council, of which Wingfield was chosen president, decided to call the place Jamestown, in honour of the King, renaming the river also after him. The Indians were friendly, and helped the colonists in many ways, while Newport and Smith set out to explore the river, arriving after six days' travel at a native village of twelve huts, the chief seat of Powhatan, the King of the country.

On their return to Jamestown, Smith, after some disagreeableness, was allowed to take his seat in the Council, which hitherto he had not been permitted to do. The ships then returned to England. But no sooner had they left than severe sickness fell upon the colony, so that out of the hundred and five persons of which it was composed scarce ten were able to stand. While the ships remained the settlers had depended entirely upon them for provisions; but now they suddenly discovered that there was not more than enough wheat and barley

¹ Smith, *General History*.

to allow each person a pint per day until fresh supplies should arrive, and even that was full of worms. The president was accused of keeping all the good



CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH.

food for his private use, while as for the rest, " Our food," says Percy, " was but a small can of barley sod in water to five men a day ; our drink cold water

taken out of the river, which was at flood very salt, at a low tide full of slime and filth; which was the destruction of our men.”¹

Between May and September fifty of the colonists died, for the most part of mere famine,² including the brave Gosnold, and the rest lived on sea-crabs and sturgeon. The president, by reason of his selfishness, was deposed, and Ratcliffe elected in his place. It is difficult to get at the truth in regard to these quarrels and disagreements. For a long time we had only Smith's own statements in his *True Relation* and the *General History*; but as other accounts came to light, notably those of Newport and Wingfield, it became evident that Smith's narratives were tainted. Every one is more or less belittled to give himself greater prominence. There is no doubt, however, that he was a very energetic and a very able man, and without giving credence to all he writes about himself, one must acknowledge that he saved the colony. Wingfield, of course, denied the charge against him as regards food. “I did never heat a flesh-pot but when the common pot was so likewise,” says he. Martin, on the other hand, declared that he had neglected his duties as president in that “he did nothing but tend his pot, spit, and oven.” In all probability he did. It is the common practice the world over for officers and officials in such positions to take the best and leave the worst to those under them. It is only occasionally one gets a real man, who is above such meanness.

¹ In Purchas.

² *Ibid.*

Under Ratcliffe's direction things went on better. For one thing, "knowing that there was no one amongst them better fitted to govern than Smith, he wisely put the conduct of affairs in his hands." Smith justified his confidence. "He set actively to work to build the town, and induced the men to build, to mow, and thatch, working as hard himself as the commonest man among them, and in a short time most were provided with a lodging." He then sailed down the river in search of food, and returned with a plenteous store of venison, wild-fowl, and maize bread, while winter brought such flocks of water-fowl to the rivers that all dread of famine was at an end.

Before the settlers had left England the Council had ordered them to sail up any river that flowed from the north-west, that direction being most likely to lead to the South Sea. The Chickahominy, which descended from that point, was therefore explored by Smith as far as his barge would pass. He then left the boat in a broad bay, and ordering the rest to remain on board, he with two men and two Indians sailed higher up in a canoe. No sooner was he departed, however, than the men left with the barge went on shore, and the Indians instantly capturing one of them, compelled him to disclose whither Smith had gone; then, putting him to death, they went in pursuit of Smith, whom they found twenty miles higher up the river. Coming first upon his two compatriots, whom he had left with the canoe, while he went to seek provisions, they slew them, and then, tracking their leader,

after a desperate struggle succeeded in capturing him, and would have put him to death but that he so astonished them with his pocket-compass that they spared his life for the time being, and allowed him to send a letter to Jamestown.

His captors carried him in triumph to Powhatan —“ a tall, well-proportioned man, about sixty years of age, somewhat hoary, of a savage majesty and grandeur, of a sour aspect, but ruler of thirty kings who paid him tribute.” So Smith describes him, who is also responsible for the story that follows, which is generally held to be apocryphal, the only authority for it being his *General History*, which was written many years after his *True Relation*, wherein the romantic reference to Pocahontas is not mentioned. According to Smith, then, on being brought before the King, two great stones were brought in, and he was compelled to place his head on them, while several savages with clubs stood ready to dash out his brains. Suddenly Pocahontas, the King's daughter, a beautiful girl of twelve years of age, who had vainly pleaded with her father for the captive's life, rushed to Smith, and, throwing her arms round him, laid her head on his, so that the executioners could not slay him without first taking her life. The truculent old King was softened by her devotion, and the pale-faced stranger was spared to make hatchets for him, and bells and beads for his tender-hearted daughter; who thus not only saved the life of Smith, but the whole Jamestown colony. But Pocahontas was not his only friend among those rude savages. Her brother,

Nantaquaces, was also very fond of him, and did him many acts of kindness. So popular did Smith become that Powhatan finally set him at liberty on his promising to send him two great guns and a grindstone.

Meanwhile everything had fallen into confusion at Jamestown, and it was with no little trouble that Smith prevented the men from sailing away in the pinnace by reminding them of the friendship of Powhatan and the goodness of Pocahontas, who, every few days, came to them with food.

Having thus put the settlers in a more cheerful mood, Smith, on the 2d of June, 1608, with fourteen companions, set out in an open barge on a voyage of discovery towards the source of the Chesapeake. He went as far as the Rappahannock, searching every cove and inlet, and making the most minute and painstaking observations on the way, and having reached the mouth of the Potomac, returned to the colony. He soon after started on a third voyage, discovering and ascending the Susquehanna as far as the falls, and, having examined every part of the bay—finding the region through which it flowed “one of the finest, perhaps, and the most commodious countries in the world, which nature seems to have formed for our noble and complete dominion”—Smith returned to Jamestown, where he was unanimously elected president.

The hands, which were always idle when he was away, were now set to work again. Captain Newport soon after arrived with supplies, as well as with some fresh emigrants, many of whom, as in the first

lot of colonists, were "gentlemen" unused and unwilling to work. He likewise brought a letter from the Council in England, complaining of the settlers, and threatening that if they did not pay the whole expense of Newport's voyage—nearly two thousand pounds—they should be treated as banished men. Smith was indignant, and wrote a reply in which he told them they must not look for profitable returns for some time. He also expostulated with them for the useless gentlemen they had sent out, and begged them to forward instead some artisans and ploughmen, who were the only fit persons for a colony. He also gave the Council to understand that they must entertain no dreams of gold. "Nothing is to be expected thence," he wrote, "but by labour."¹ Along with his letter Smith forwarded to the Council a map of Chesapeake Bay in proof of his diligence in exploration.

The last lot of emigrants that arrived were so troublesome that Smith sent two hundred of them to the falls of the James River, to plant a settlement. They did nothing, however, but create difficulties with the Indians, and then return to headquarters for protection. Powhatan, too, lost patience with his pale-faced neighbours, and concocted a plan to massacre them. Pocahontas again saved the colony, going to Smith, at the peril of her life, to reveal to him her father's intention. To add to other perplexities, provisions began to fail, and the president, calling the colonists about him, told them sternly that they must either work or suffer

¹ Smith, *General History*.

the consequences, as he would not have the idle throwing themselves for support upon the industrious. This straightforward counsel had some effect. Tar, pitch, potash, glass, a well, twenty houses, nets, fishing-wires were made; thirty acres of prepared land were planted, and sturgeon, roots, and



INDIAN ENCAMPMENT.

herbs dried for food. But still idleness was so prevalent that it needed the strictest vigilance on the part of Smith and the Council to prevent the men from bartering their tools and furniture with the natives for food.

Meanwhile, the company in England, anxious to

see some profit accruing from all this outlay, decided to put more energy into their operations. They accordingly enlarged their body by a number of new subscribers, and in May, 1609, despatched ships with nine hundred fresh emigrants in them. A new charter was likewise procured, transferring the Royal power to the company. By this instrument the stockholders were empowered to elect the Supreme Council in England, who were to frame the laws and decide upon the government, and in cases that were met by no law the governor in Virginia was given the power to act on his own authority, even to the extent of exercising martial law.

The last batch of emigrants consisted chiefly of "gentlemen of good means and parentage," or, in other words, "unruly gallants, packed off by friends."¹ Not liking Smith's stern rule, they presently endeavoured to set aside his authority, seized the possessions of the first colonists, and even plotted to murder the president, who was compelled to call in the Indians against his own countrymen. A new governor, Lord Delaware, had been appointed, but was delayed in his arrival, and Smith was obliged to resort to the expedient of sending the unruly spirits of "good parentage" on exploring expeditions in order to keep peace. Finally, an accident relieved him from his arduous office. As he was one day stepping into his boat, his powder-bag took fire and exploded, injuring him in a terrible manner. Among all its people the colony, by a strange oversight of the London Council, did not

¹ Smith, *Virginia*.

count a single surgeon, and so there was nothing for it but to go home for relief. Delegating his authority, therefore, to George Percy, he returned with the fleet, leaving behind supplies sufficient for any colony well ruled and industrious, a town of from fifty to sixty houses, five or six forts, and a few plantations.

Smith did not return, and in taking leave of him we may quote the words of one of his companions, who says that "in all his proceedings he made justice his first guide and experience his second, ever hating sloth, baseness, pride, and indignity more than any dangers, never allowing himself more than his soldiers, that upon no danger would send them where he would not lead himself; that would never see them want what he had or could by any means get them; that would rather want than borrow, or starve than not pay; loved actions more than words, and hated falsehood worse than death; whose adventures were our lives, and whose loss our death. Yet he received not a shilling for all that he had done in Virginia, and because he spake plainly, and of work instead of gold, was superseded by another man." But this other man, his successor, had not yet arrived, and after the departure of Smith evil after evil, and finally all but ruin, fell upon the colony. "Yea," exclaims Dr. Simmons in bitterness, "his greatest maligners could now curse his loss. Instead of the corn which he had procured from the Indians came mortal wounds with clubs and arrows."

The colony fell into the direst straits, and there

was no one with a wise head and firm hand to lead and direct. While the officers and Indians kept the provisions for their own consumption, the workers had to part with all they possessed for food. Under these distressing circumstances so many died that within six months after Smith's departure the colony consisted of but sixty men, women, and children, and these were reduced to supporting their miserable lives by roots, herbs, acorns, walnuts, berries, and a little fish. At last even the skins of horses were eaten, and when there were no more of these the most horrible cannibalism succeeded.

Such was the plight to which the colony had been reduced when Sir George Somers, who, going out as deputy-governor, had been separated from the last fleet and wrecked on one of the Bermuda Islands, of which he took possession in the name of the King, and having built two vessels, now arrived at Jamestown with his companions. Two years later Somers returned to the Bermudas, and died in the one known as St. George's Isle. In the same year (1611) a small colony was founded there by his brother.

At the earnest entreaty of the remnant of the Virginia colony, Somers took them on board his vessels, and, abandoning the settlement, sailed for England. But ere they had reached the mouth of the estuary they fell in with the long-boat of Delaware, the new governor, who came with three ships of emigrants and supplies. This welcome relief greatly revived the courage of the colonists, who did not want much persuading to return; and on

the 9th of June, 1610, they once more landed at Jamestown. Nothing shows better than the conduct of these people what a mistake it is to enter upon new enterprises with broken-down men and social failures. That had been largely the mistake through all these attempts in Virginia. Never were miseries more truly brought upon themselves or more richly deserved than the miseries suffered by these colonists. Yet, incapable alike of shame or penitence, they declared with the utmost complacency that their deliverance was "the arm of the Lord of Hosts, who would have his people pass the Red Sea and the Wilderness, and then possess the land of Canaan." The new governor, however, viewed matters in a different light. He sternly reminded them of their "haughty vanities and sluggish idleness," entreating them to amend their ways, and so avoid the sword of justice, which he was determined to wield.

The terrible sufferings the settlers had gone through probably served to enforce his words. A reform took place, and a regular system of labour was organised. It is amusing to read the old chronicler's idea of hard work. "Let not any man," says he, "be discouraged by the relation of their daily labour. It began at six till ten, and again from two to four, when they went to church, and after that returned home and received their rations." Workers nowadays would almost think such a condition of labour the social millennium. But in the midst of the improving prospects Delaware fell sick, and, returning to England, was replaced by Sir

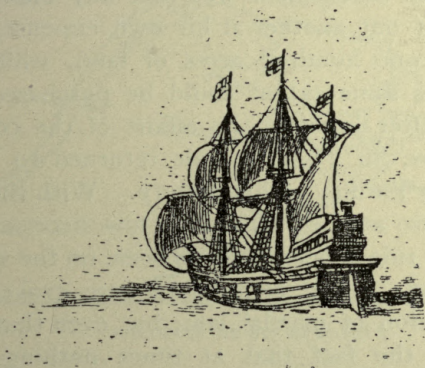
Thomas Dale, who, along with a supply of provisions, brought a code of laws, whose wholesome severity it is thought may have helped to save the colony. What was doubtless much more salutary than the laws, however, was the new regulations in regard to labour that now came into force. Hitherto, as we have seen, all had worked for a general fund, which was equally divided, the idle sharing with the industrious. Under the new governor each man was allotted three acres of land at a rent of two and a half bushels of corn a year, and was released from all public labour beyond a month at harvest time. The good effect produced by this change was soon apparent. Men became eager to reap the reward of exertion. New settlements were formed, and the King extended the charter by lengthening the time of exemptions from imposts, at the same time enlarging the territory of the company to all islands within three hundred leagues of the coast. The Council in London was also given the privilege of raising money by lottery,¹ the first ever known in England.

Meanwhile the growing prosperity of the colony greatly impressed the Indians, who declared themselves the subjects of the English, and, amid general rejoicing, the alliance was confirmed by the marriage of Pocahontas to a young Englishman named Rolfe. Shortly afterwards the two sailed for England, when the Indian bride, having been baptised in the name of Rebecca and received into the English Church, was presented at Court. All

¹ Smith, *General History*.

whom she met were charmed with her, and one can well believe that "many English ladies were worse favoured, proportioned, and behaved." She preserved to the last the simplicity and goodness of heart which had made her as an angel of light to the perverse colonists of Jamestown, and that has endeared her memory to the people of Virginia ever since. She did not long survive the removal to her adopted country, dying at Leigh, Essex, in 1617, and leaving one son, named Thomas Rolfe, from whom many families in the old colony proudly trace their descent.¹

¹ Smith, *Virginia*.



SHIP OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

(From a contemporary print.)



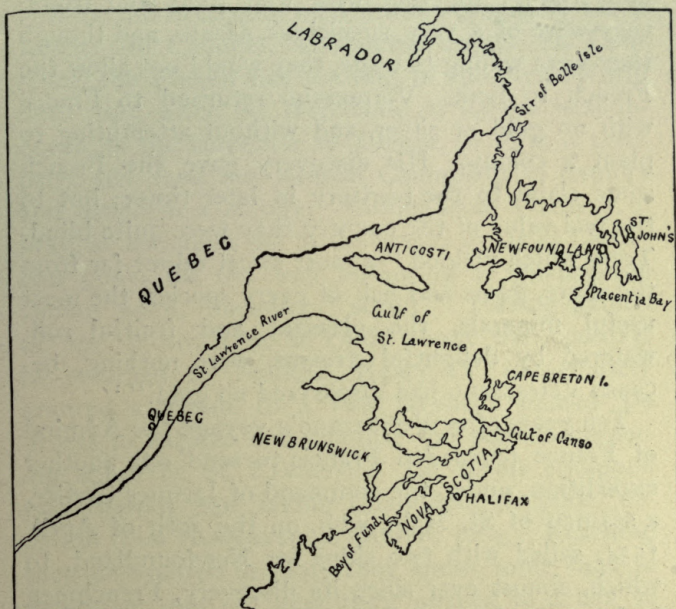
CHAPTER II.

FIRST FOOTING OF THE ENGLISH IN INDIA.

ALTHOUGH the colony in Virginia was now firmly established, there were many hardships yet in store for it. Everything was done to attract emigrants thither. One inducement was that any man who went, or sent out another at his own expense, was entitled to one hundred acres of land, while an estate of the same extent could be purchased for £12 10s. After directing the affairs of the colony for five years, Sir Thomas Dale returned to England, leaving Yardley as his deputy. With the exception of two acts, to which it is now necessary to refer, Dale's rule appears to have been, on the whole wise and just. Bitter complaints were evoked by his introduction of martial law; but even that was justified by the fact that at times nothing else availed to keep the unruly spirits in check. There were those, too, who did not approve of his insisting on the abundant planting of corn, and when the more lucrative production of tobacco threatened to absorb the energies of the colony, forbade any to be cultivated until a certain quantity of corn was sown,

thus obviating a dependence on the Indians for a supply, which often resulted in injustice and cruelty.¹

It must not be supposed that Jamestown was the first colony planted in North America. To our neighbours, the French, belongs that honour. The



THE GULF OF ST. LAWRENCE.

first to extend our knowledge of that portion of the Western Continent, after the Cabots, was John Verazzano, a Florentine in the employ of Francis I. of France, who, in 1524, discovered the coast afterwards known as North Carolina, which he found in-

¹ Smith, *Virginia*.

habited by brown Indians, who were clothed with skins and crowned with wreaths of feathers. Thence he sailed to Nova Scotia, where he found a very different race, "full of rudeness and ill-manners." They were clad in bear-skins; they lived by hunting and fishing, together with wild roots and fruits; they were of a very suspicious nature, and though they were willing to trade, they would not allow the French to land. Verrazzano returned to France with no gold or silver, and without attempting to plant a colony. His discovery gave the French some claim to the territory in later times; but to the real value of the country they were quite blind. Trees which yielded "a most sweet odour far from the shore, game and fish of every species, the most useful minerals, the pleasant and fruitful soil, watered by delightful streams, were nothing, because Verrazzano had discovered no gold."¹

Ten years after Verrazzano's voyage the Admiral of France persuaded Francis to send out another expedition, under the command of Jacques Cartier, a seaman of St. Malo, who, on the 20th of April, 1534, sailed with two ships for Newfoundland, to which, almost ever since its discovery, Frenchmen had resorted to prosecute the fisheries. After making some important discoveries, he returned to St. Malo, and the next year was sent out with three ships to make further explorations. He now discovered the St. Lawrence, exploring it as far as Hochelaga, where he climbed a hill, from which he beheld so fair a prospect that, thinking there should

¹ Hakluyt.

be the capital of the French settlements, he named it Mont-Real. Then, taking possession of the land for the King of France, he returned to St. Malo in July, 1536. But again, seeing that no gold was forthcoming, these discoveries were not followed up.

With the exception of fruitless voyages by De la Roche and Chauvin, who sailed up the St. Lawrence, the French did nothing in the New World until 1603, when the merchants of Rouen were induced by the Governor of Dieppe to form a company and send out Samuel Champlain to explore and establish a colony. Sailing from Harfleur in May, he ascended the St. Lawrence as far as Cartier had gone, on the way anchoring at Quebec—an Indian word, meaning “strait.” Having gained all the information he could about the country, he returned to France. Henry IV. immediately granted a patent to a rich favourite named De Monts to explore and colonise the regions bordering upon the St. Lawrence. De Monts equipped two vessels, and taking Champlain as pilot, departed from Newhaven in March, 1604. Reaching their destination in May, they spent some time in exploring, but ere long they arrived in a bay so beautiful that one of the adventurers named De Poutrincourt obtained a grant from De Monts, and, calling the place Port Royal—now Annapolis (Nova Scotia)—resolved to make a settlement there.

De Monts made the first attempt at a settlement on the island of St. Croix, but the cold proved so intense that it was resolved to seek a warmer site, though for the time being without success. De Pou-

trincourt returned to France, and, in the spring of 1606, returned with De Monts to Port Royal with fresh supplies. He now set to work in good earnest to cultivate the ground, clearing away the timber, and sowing corn and vegetables. It is interesting to read how the little colony spent the third winter. Champlain established an order which was designated the "Lord de bon temps," by which each took his turn to be steward and caterer for one day. The honour of the steward was to provide "goode and worshipfulle fare"; and this led to such exertions that, says L'Escorbat, "we had ordinarily as good cheere as we could have at La Rue aux Ours of Paris, and at farre lesser charges, for there was none but two days before his time came was carefull to goe a-hunting or fishing, and brought some daintie thing besides that which was of our ordinarie allowance. When March came the best disposed among us did strive who should best till the ground to make gardens, to sow in them. It was a marvellous pleasure to see them daily grow up, and yet greater contentment to use thereof so abundantly as we did. De Poutrincourt made some buildings, prepared for to lodge them whom he hoped should succeed us." ¹

Such was the way in which the French went to work to found a colony—a very striking contrast to what we have seen going on in Virginia. A water-mill was built; herrings, sardines, and pilchards were salted to send as specimens to France, and two ships built to return in case of need.

¹ Churchill, *Voyages*.

In 1607 De Poutrincourt collected samples of the produce of the country, and, sailing for France, showed them to the King, who then granted to De Monts a partial renewal of his patent, giving him the privilege of trading for beavers on condition of founding a colony on the St. Lawrence. In this document the country is for the first time called Acadia, though the name was afterwards restricted to what is now Nova Scotia. Henry IV. also confirmed the grant of Port Royal to De Poutrincourt, but conditional on his converting the natives.¹ De Monts then sent Champlain with three ships to establish a settlement on the St. Lawrence, and after a careful examination of sites, the famous navigator fixed upon Quebec (July 3, 1608), and at once began clearing and planting. One of his first acts was to make friends with the neighbouring Indians. This policy led him to give his assistance to the Algonquins in a war with the Iroquois, or "Five Nations," which, under the names of Mohawks, Oneydaes, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senekas, had been confederated from many generations. Marching in front of his allies to the encounter, he began the battle by firing his arquebus. The shot was so well aimed that it killed two chiefs and wounded a third, whereupon, terrified by the new weapon and the instant falling of their leaders, the Iroquois fled. They were subsequently attacked in their stockades, and utterly defeated.

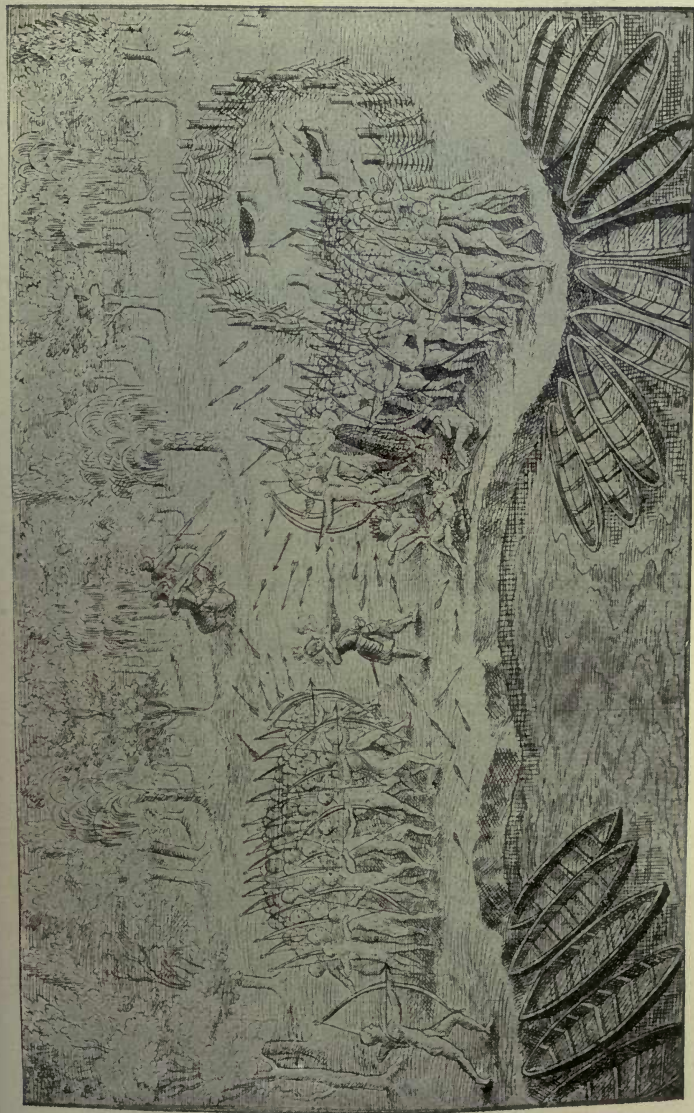
Thus the first colony in North America was due to the enterprise and good sense of the French.

¹ Belknap, *American Biographies*.

On the death of Henry IV., the Queen Regent made Champlain Governor of Canada.

In the year 1613 Sir Thomas Dale, hearing of De Poutrincourt's colony at Port Royal, sent a young man named Argall, ostensibly on a fishing cruise, but with secret orders to surprise the harmless Port Royalists. Argall, carrying out his instructions to the letter, suddenly fell upon the little colony, took the settlers captive, pillaged a ship newly arrived with supplies, and destroyed the little township. The reason assigned for this act of barbarity was that Acadia lay within the territory of Virginia. But, as a matter of fact, De Mont's charter, which granted him the land from the 40th degree N. lat., was anterior to that of James I. to the Virginia companies, and the French, as we have seen, had begun their settlement as early as 1604. Nor was this the only act of injustice committed by Argall during his pretended fishing voyage. In the year 1609 Henry Hudson, an Englishman in the service of the Dutch, had founded a small colony on the river that bears his name, and Argall, declaring their settlement an encroachment on Virginia, forced them to submit to the authority of the English. But though the French tamely suffered this indignity, the Hollanders were in no mind to do so, but, sending for reinforcements, presently recaptured their settlement.

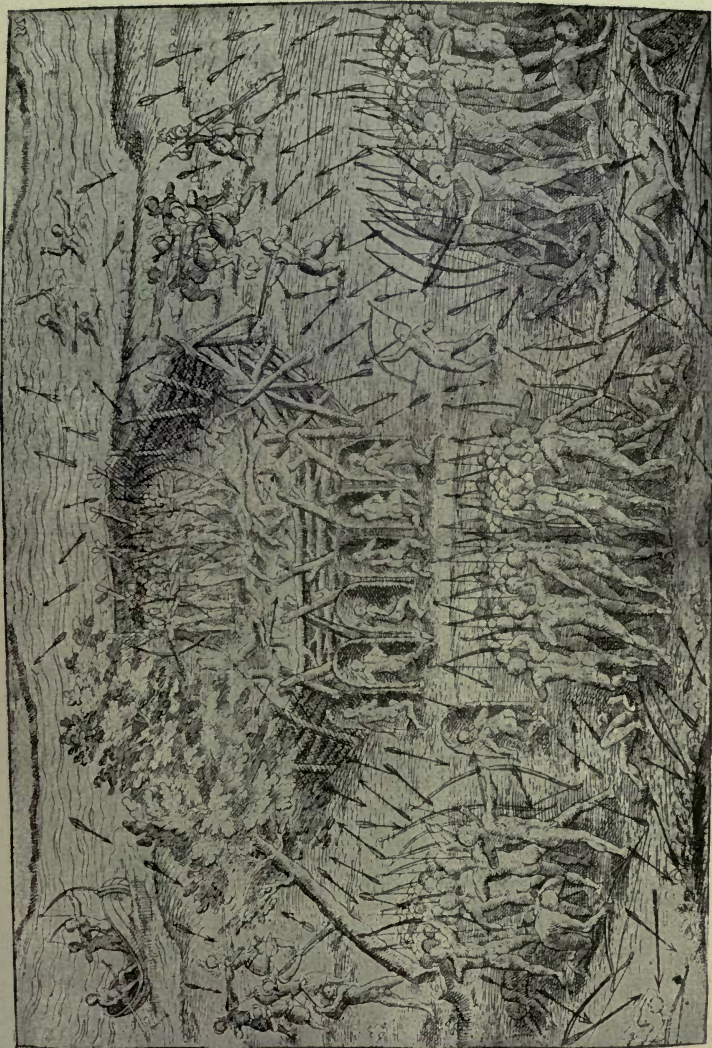
In 1617, Argall, who had in the meantime been to England, was appointed Governor of Virginia. During Deputy Yardley's term of office the colony had prospered backwards rather than forwards. Instead of following up the wise measures of Governor



Dale, he allowed the profit on tobacco to tempt him to neglect the growing of corn. For James I., notwithstanding his antipathy to the Indian weed, which he held to be pernicious to men's morals, as well as to their health, had given the colonists permission to enter it in England, while he inhibited all importation of it from Spain. Yardley was therefore soon obliged to depend on a tribute of food from the Indians, which had to be enforced by arms. Argall found things in a bad state, and endeavoured to remedy them by a resort to martial law. But he had not the wisdom of Dale, and mingled the necessary severity with such petty acts of tyranny as made him hated by the colonists. Relief was looked for at the hands of Lord Delaware, who in 1618 sailed from England with two hundred emigrants well furnished. But he died on the passage, and thus, without restraint, Argall became still more arrogant. Among other arbitrary acts, he tried and condemned a man for speaking contemptuously of him. The defendant, however, referred his case to the Council in England—the first instance of an appeal to the English body from an American colony.¹

Twelve years had now elapsed since the settlement was made at Jamestown, and, after an expenditure of more than eighty thousand pounds of the public stock, besides the disbursements of private individuals, the company was six thousand pounds in debt, the settlement numbered no more than six hundred persons, and the only commodities exported were

¹ Chalmers, *Political Annals*.



sassafras and tobacco. Not only the company but the colony also complained. Argall was replaced by Sir George Yardley, who on the 19th of June, 1619, arrived at Jamestown. With him came a new era, marked by the establishment of a Provincial Legislature, in which the colonists were represented. New laws also were introduced, one of which limited the power of the Governor by a Council, which had authority to set aside any injustice committed by him, and in this Council the Colonists had a voice. At the first Colonial Assembly eleven districts were represented, so widely had the colonists dispersed during the last few years. The affairs of the colony were discussed and laws passed, although they were not valid until they had received the sanction of the Council in London.

While these events were taking place in Virginia the notable man who had done so much towards establishing a settlement in these regions had played out the last act of his drama and gone to his rest. Sorrowfully enough, the act was not a very creditable one. Reference has already been made to Raleigh's infatuation for Guiana, with its reported city of El Dorado and its fabulous mines of gold. In 1595, after two fruitless expeditions which he had sent out, he went thither himself; but nothing came of the voyage, save the worthless capture of the town of St. Joseph's, in the island of Trinidad. Afterwards, when he fell upon evil times, and was condemned, as we think, unjustly, for his supposed complicity in a plot against King James, and was thrown into the Tower in place of being beheaded,

he still dreamed of the fabled treasure of Guiana, so that after thirteen years' imprisonment he prevailed upon the King to give him permission to conduct an expedition to that country in order to establish a settlement there. Accordingly, in 1617 he set out with twelve armed ships, and after languishing many days in the Doldrums and losing many men through sickness and fever, he reached the Orinoco; but instead of going to seek the mines of which he had talked so much, he sent his chief lieutenant and his son to attack the town of St. Thomas, which they took and burnt. This, in truth, seems to have been the "mine," by the working of which Raleigh hoped to recoup his broken fortunes; but as it proved but a barren capture he was at his wits' end to know what to do. He proposed to his followers to cruise in search of the Mexican treasure-ships; but as they knew the King had given him permission to go to Guiana on the condition that no hostile or unfriendly act should be perpetrated against the Spaniards, with whom England was then at peace, they refused to accede to his wish. Said they, "What good will it do us if we get the wealth of Mexico, seeing that when we return home it will be all taken from us, and we shall be hanged into the bargain." So they compelled him to return home, where he was at once arrested, and for his disobedience to the King in making war upon the Spaniards he was beheaded on the sentence of fourteen years before.

The truth is that a new spirit had already arisen in England, and under James it was no longer pos-

sible to do what had been done under Elizabeth. Privateering was not stopped; it continued, indeed, throughout the whole of the seventeenth century, and far into the eighteenth, as we shall see; but it could not be carried on under the quasi-sanction of Royalty against a friendly state.

The peace which James maintained was highly favourable to industry and commerce, and they thrived in consequence. Hume affirms that during no preceding period of our history was there a more sensible increase than during the King's reign "of all the advantages which distinguish a flourishing people." Stowe also speaks of the increase of wealth among the people, especially in London, as being incredible. The country being now thoroughly given to manufacturing industry and commerce, great attention was paid to these subjects in Parliament. One of the earliest acts of the King in respect to foreign trade was to annul the patent of the Spanish Company, the consequence of which was that the trade to Spain, which was at first very insignificant, soon became the most considerable in the Kingdom.¹ One result of this expansion of trade through giving it greater freedom was to cause Parliament to compel the other companies to enlarge their bounds and facilitate the admission of new adventurers. At a later period (1622), on the creation of a Board of Trade, the King again recommended the commissioners to inquire whether a greater freedom of commerce and an exemption from the restraint of exclusive companies would not be beneficial.²

¹ Hume, *History of England*.

² Hume,

But nothing was done to give exemption from these curbs. The privileges of the East India Company appear to have caused the greatest irritation amongst merchants, and attempts were made to infringe the Company's rights, though without success. James had renewed their patent "for ever," and they had enlarged their stock to £1,500,000. Between 1603 and 1612 the Company sent out eight expeditions to the islands of the Indian Ocean—as Java, Sumatra, and Amboyna, the chief of the Moluccas—the returns being raw silk, fine calicoes, cloves, mace, and indigo. The profits realised were very great, varying from 121 to 234 per cent. on outlay. The largest profit earned was in 1607, when Captain Keeling bought cloves for £2948, which realised £36,209.¹

In 1608 the Company's agents at Bantam and in the Moluccas reported that the cloths and calicoes imported from the mainland of India were in great demand on the islands, and suggested the opening up of a trade at Surat and Cambaya for the supply of these articles, which might be exchanged for the spices and other products of the islands at great profit. An effort was made to carry out their recommendations in the following year, when a fleet under Sir Henry Middleton made several attempts to establish commercial relations at ports on the western seaboard of Asia. They were, however, frustrated by the hostility of the Turks at Aden and Mocha, and by the Portuguese on the coast of India, where they had established themselves at many points, as well as among the islands. The Com-

¹ Bruce, *History of the East India Company*.

pany's ships, which sailed in 1611 under Captain Best, had better success. Though attacked at Swally, a place not far from Surat, by a Portuguese fleet, they made a successful defence, and obtained a favourable reception at the latter place. In all, Captain Best fought five different engagements with the Portuguese, and gained a complete victory over forces much superior. As a result, in the month of January following, the firman of the Mogul Emperor was received, giving the Company permission to establish factories at Ahmedabad, Cambaya, and Gogo, as well as Surat, on condition of their paying a duty of three and a half per cent. in return for the protection of their factories.¹

Thus the English obtained their first footing on the continent of India, that irregular triangle of land separated from the rest of Asia by the almost impassable range of the Himalayas, the Hindu-Kush, and Suleiman Mountains, and bounded on the east, west, and south by the Indian Ocean. Its length north and south and its greatest breadth east and west are both about 1900 miles. Within these borders is an area of something like 1,296,000 square miles, with a population in round numbers, of two hundred and fifty millions.

India proper may be regarded as consisting of three separate regions, well defined by differences of soil, climate, productions, and people, the first being the region of the Himalayas. Immediately south of those mountains lies the vast North Indian plain, containing the most fertile and densely popu-

¹ Mill, *History of British India*.

lated portions of the peninsula. South of the northern plain rises the third region of India, the triangular plateau of the Deccan, with an elevation of from two to three thousand feet. Its northern scarp is formed by a number of hill-ranges known as the Vindhya Mountains. The other two sides of the Deccan are formed by the eastern and western Ghâts, which stretch southwards along both coasts of India.

The vast North Indian plain is watered by three distinct river systems, collecting the drainage of both the northern and southern slopes of the Himalayas. The first of these rises on the northern side of the Himalayas, and makes its way through the western ranges of those mountains into the Punjab as the Indus and the Sutlej. The second runs in the same quarter, not far from the source of those rivers, and, flowing in an opposite direction, enters India in the east as the Brahmaputra of Assam and Eastern Bengal. The third system, the Ganges and its tributary, the Jumna, drain the southern slope of the Himalayas, traverses the Central Indian plain, and, uniting near its mouth with the Brahmaputra, forms the immense delta known as the Sunderbunds. The Ganges for thousands of years occupied an important place in Indian civilisation, and was the sole channel of traffic between Upper India and the seaboard.

In Southern India the climate is, of course, tropical, while among the Upper Himalayas an alpine temperature prevails. The mid-region, comprising the Deccan and the slopes of the Himalayas, enjoys

a temperate climate. Throughout the entire country there are but two seasons, the dry and the rainy. On the western coast the rainy season begins with the south-west monsoons, and lasts from May to November; on the east coast the rainy season follows, with south-east monsoons, and lasts from November till March.

The population is composed of several races, which by this time have become more or less mixed. First came the Hindus, who are partly of Aryan, or Indo-European, and partly of non-Aryan stock. They are by far the most numerous. In the south is found a tall people of non-Aryan and Dravidian origin. The remainder is made up of Arabs, Parsees, Mongolians, etc. The languages spoken are numerous and mixed; but Hindustanee, the language of the Mahomedan conquerors of the country, was early adopted by the English as the official tongue, and gradually became the means of general intercourse throughout the peninsula.

The great Akbar, who began to reign in 1556, and who set the Mogul dominions upon a firm basis, had been dead only seven years when the English established their first settlement at Surat, which is on the Tapti River, fourteen miles from the sea. After his decease his dynasty was weakened by feuds, insurrections, disputed successions, and frequent internecine wars. Indeed, the whole country was in such an unsettled state that every inducement was offered to foreign adventurers to profit by their dissensions.

The Portuguese had not failed to take advantage

of these opportunities, and they had, in consequence, acquired considerable influence at Delhi, as well as at some of the minor courts. About this time, however, they had, by their overbearing disposition, embroiled themselves with the Mogul Government. This circumstance afforded a favourable opportunity for the English to ingratiate themselves with those rulers by giving them their aid, and by their achievements to obtain a reputation for prowess in war.¹ A Portuguese fleet had burned the towns of Gogo and Baroach. These acts they followed up, in January, 1614, by attacking the English at Swally, when they again suffered a severe defeat, with great loss of men.

By their open hostility, and still more by their intrigues, the Portuguese succeeded in thwarting the purposes of the English to such an extent that the latter made very little scruple about attacking their ships whenever they came in contact with them; and thus, even when there was peace between the two countries in Europe, there was seldom peace or truce between the rivals in the East.² The English were seldom made to feel their secret and underhand intrigue so keenly as in 1614, when, at the request of the struggling Company, James I. sent an embassy to Jehanghire, who then occupied the Delhi throne, to further the interests of the Company, and to cultivate a friendly connection. Sir Thomas Roe, who was the Ambassador selected, landed at Surat in September, 1615, and travelling

¹ Mill, *History of British India*.

² MacFarlane, *Popular History of British India*.

in great state with an escort of eighty men-at-arms, he reached Ajmere, where the Court was staying, two days before Christmas.

The Mogul Emperor received him with unusual honours; but Sir Thomas soon perceived that his efforts were thwarted by the intrigues of the Portuguese, and by the excessive caution of the Emperor's ministers. Some former territorial grants, and a few new privileges of little value, were, however, confirmed, or granted to him.

But not only had the Company the rivalry of the Portuguese to contend with; the Dutch were quite as jealous, and perhaps more formidable. They were much more powerful than the English as regards the number of ships they had engaged in the Eastern seas, and for many years they were guilty of much injurious conduct towards the agents and servants of the Company. It was not until about the year 1618, however, that the Dutch resorted to open force against their rivals. They then attacked the English in two small islands in the Moluccas, named Poleroon and Rosengin, in which they had established themselves, and because they could not get them out they seized two ships, and refused to give them up unless all pretensions to the Spice Islands were renounced.¹ Attempts were made to arrange these differences by treaty; but, though a formal understanding was arrived at between the two governments, it settled nothing. The rapacity of the Dutch, combined with their overbearing disposition, was such that it was soon perceived that

¹ Mill.

anything like fair dealing was not to be expected of them, unless measures were taken in Europe to bring them to a more reasonable state of mind. A naval force was at length equipped and despatched under the Earl of Oxford to lay in wait for the Dutch East India fleet. But by reason of contrary winds, Oxford failed to carry out his purpose, and the Dutch escaped.¹ Some time after, one rich ship was taken by Vice-Admiral Merwin, whereupon the Dutch agreed to pay seventy thousand pounds to the English Company in compensation for the losses which it had sustained. But neither this stipulation, nor the fear of reprisals, nor regard for the friendship that subsisted between England and the States, could restrain the greed of the Holland Company, or render them equitable in their proceedings towards their allies. Impatient to enjoy the monopoly of the lucrative trade carried on with the Spice Islands, which the English then shared with them, they assumed a jurisdiction over a factory of the latter on the island of Amboyna. In that island, the largest of the Molucca group, and the richest in cloves, the Dutch had a strong castle, garrisoned by two hundred men, while the English, only eighteen in number, occupied a defenceless house in the town, being secured, as they understood, by arrangements and treaties with the States. Yet the latter pretended to have reason to suspect that this handful of Englishmen purposed dispossessing them of their castle; whereupon, giving them a friendly invitation to visit the Governor in this stronghold,

¹ Hume.

they seized them, put them to the rack, and finally, after a form of trial, decapitated ten of the number. A Portuguese and nine natives of Japan were assassinated at the same time as accomplices of the English, all protesting with their dying breath that they knew nothing of the alleged plot.

The news of this inhuman massacre arrived in England at the time when the King was being constrained by the prejudices of his subjects, and the intrigues of his favourite, to come to a breach with Spain; and he was obliged, after some remonstrance, to put up with this indignity from a State whose alliance had now become a necessity to him. What is more astonishing is that the nation, after some little excitement and clamour, submitted to this affront from their Protestant confederate. The fact is, the Dutch, whom Elizabeth had helped so freely with men and money in their struggle for freedom, had become insolent and overbearing in their newly acquired independence, and were presuming on their strength to play the game that Spain had played and lost. Possibly it was because they were Protestants that the English were more forbearing than they might otherwise have been; but in the end they brought upon themselves the inevitable retribution.

It is worthy of note here that, according to Hume, the number of seamen engaged at this time in the English merchant service amounted to ten thousand. It is said that the Dutch possessed three times more shipping than the English, but that their vessels were of inferior burden to those of the

latter. The Dutch at this period had six hundred ships employed in the trade with England; whereas the number of English vessels trading with Holland was only sixty.¹

The greater the difficulty the English encountered in prosecuting their trade among the islands, the more they were forced to fall back upon that of the mainland. Here, as they were more than a match for the Portuguese, they had better prospects of success. In 1620 two ships were sent from Surat to the Persian coast; but, arriving at Jask, they found that port blockaded by the Portuguese with a fleet of twenty-one ships. Returning to Surat, they were joined by two more vessels, and, thus reinforced, attacked the Portuguese, and, after an indecisive action, made their way into the port. The latter, retiring to refit at Ormuz, presently returned, and again trying conclusions with the English, were, after an obstinate engagement, repulsed with great loss. This brilliant victory over such a vastly superior force naturally produced a great impression upon the Persians, and led to an unexpected slice of luck for the Company, whose affairs had not been flourishing for some time. The Persians proposed to the English a joint attack on the island of Ormuz, which the Portuguese in their days of prosperity had seized upon and fortified. The English furnished the naval, the Persians the military force. The place was reduced on the 22d of April, 1622, and the English, in recompense for their services, were given share of the plunder of the city, and a

¹ Hume.

grant of half the customs of the port of Gombroon, which became their chief station in the Persian Gulf.¹

From this time, for some years, the Company's affairs were not prosperous. Having on the one hand the firmly established position of the Portuguese to contend with, and on the other the greater wealth of the Dutch, it was nothing but their dogged energy and perseverance that kept them afloat. On the Coromandel coast some fresh efforts were made, though without much success. Factories were established at Masulipatam and Pullicat; but the rivalry of the Dutch still followed them, and they were obliged to relinquish Pullicat. In Tanjore, where they next attempted a settlement, they were opposed by the Danes, newly arrived on the coast. In 1626, however, they succeeded in acquiring a piece of ground at Armegum, a little way south of Nellore, and, establishing there a factory, they, in 1628, removed thither their establishment from Masulipatam, in consequence of the oppression of the native government. Two years later, in consequence of an effort on the part of the Portuguese to regain their influence in those regions, the English had to fight another engagement with their ships at Swally. The Portuguese had a much superior force; and though the English had the advantage, and succeeded in landing their cargoes, the result was not decisive.

Thus the affairs of the Company went on for some years, never greatly prospering, while at times they

¹ Mill.

appeared almost on the point of collapse. They suffered, of course, like everything else, from the unhappy condition of affairs in England. They suffered, too, from the competition of a rival association formed by the Merchant Adventurers of London, who were succesful in securing the interest of Charles I. Another misfortune which befel them at this time was the seizure of their magazines by the King, who, having resolved to draw the sword as the only way to end the disputes between him and his people, and finding himself without money, took this means of procuring a supply. The Company was given bonds for their stores, which were then sold for less than their reputed value, and it does not appear that the Company ever received back more than the smallest modicum of their debt.

It is worthy of note that, about this time (1640-41) the ground upon which Madras now stands was obtained from a local chief ; and as a place of strength on the coast of Coromandel, for the better security both of the property of the Company, and the persons of their agents, had long been desired, a fortress was at once built, and named Fort St. George. Natives soon flocked thither for the sake of trade, and ere long it became the centre of a stirring and ever-increasing town.





CHAPTER III.

FIRST SETTLEMENT OF NEW ENGLAND.

WHILE the colony on the Chesapeake was fighting its difficult way to success, a still more memorable colonising movement was taking place in that portion of the territory of Virginia appropriated to the Plymouth Company. The chief members of this Company were Sir John Popham, Sir Ferdinand Gorges, and Sir John Gilbert. We have seen how, after their abortive attempt to found a colony at the mouth of the Sagadahock, Maine, in 1607, they had been content to conduct a trade with the natives in fish and peltry. This was carried on without any incident worthy of note until 1614. In that year John Smith, who had now recovered from the hurts he had received at Jamestown, was sent out to see if fresh impetus could not be given to the Company's business. Having concluded his traffic with the Indians, and set his crew fishing, Smith started out with eight men and explored the territory between Penobscot and Cape Cod. He traced his course on a map, and from the favourable report he gave of the country, Prince Henry bestowed upon it the name of New England, in place of Virginia, which gradually came

to designate only that portion of country now comprised within the State of that name.

The Plymouth Company continued to send out vessels, and to do a certain amount of trade; but year after year went by without any further effort at colonisation being made. The same sort of thing might have gone on for an indefinite period had not James's tyrannical rule at length roused a spirit which neither he nor any of his Stuart successors ever succeeded in quenching—that sense of freedom and impatience of restraint which have done more perhaps than anything else to make the English, or perhaps we should now say the British people, what they are.

The Puritans, who had found so little comfort during the latter years of Elizabeth, looked to the accession of James as to the dawn of a new era. But bitterly were they disappointed. James declared agianst them and their doctrines with unmistakable emphasis. “I will have one doctrine and one discipline; one religion in substance and ceremony. I shall make them conform themselves, or I will harry them out of the land, or else do worse.” On the 5th of March this contemptible upholder of the “Divine right of kings” commanded that the same religion that had been proclaimed in his predecessor's reign should be practised, without hope of toleration for any other; and on the 6th of July another decree went forth, ordering the Puritan ministers either to conform before the last day of November, or pack. The effect was that, before the appointed time, more than three hundred were

ejected, silenced, or suspended, some imprisoned, and others driven into exile.

The Puritans consisted of two sects, the most extreme of the two being the Brownists—so-called after their founder, Robert Brown—who, regarding the discipline and ceremonies of the Church of England as but little removed from Popery, renounced all communion and connection with them, and entirely separating themselves, formed a distinct society. The other sect did not go so far as the Independents, as the Brownists soon came to be called. Whilst strongly objecting to what they considered the Papal leanings of the Church, they professed attachment to her doctrines, and thought it no wrong to listen to her preachers. To the Brownists those of the latter sect were time-serving, and in a manner made themselves participators in the persecutions which the Church instituted to enforce conformity.

The Independents were, of course, the most obnoxious to the ecclesiastical authorities, who made life so unbearable to them in England that, in 1606, a number, under the guidance of their minister, John Robinson, resolved to take up their abode in Holland. After some years of hardship and trial there, hearing from time to time of the Virginian and other colonists in the New World, the idea occurred to them of founding for themselves a home among the wild men of the West, who could hardly be more cruel to them than their Christian kith and kin. They knew from the reports that had come to them that they must expect toil and suffering

enough. But "we are well weaned," wrote their pastor, "from the delicate milk of the mother country, and inured to the difficulties of a strange land; the people are industrious and frugal. We are knit together as a body in a most sacred covenant of the Lord, of the violation whereof we make great conscience, and by virtue whereof we hold ourselves strictly tied to all care of each other's good, and of the whole. It is not with us as with men whom small things can discourage."

There were, of course, those who opposed the plan, painting in terrible colours the danger to be apprehended from the savage Indians, the rigours of the climate, and a land so far from succour. But Mr. Robinson vanquished all objections, declaring that "all great and honourable actions were accompanied with great difficulties, and must be overcome with answerable courage. The dangers were great, but not desperate; the difficulties many, but not invincible, nor certain; others might, by care, be prevented, and all, through the help of God, be borne or overcome." The scheme having been finally agreed to, application was made to the Plymouth Company, who were only too pleased to get colonists. James would not promise to give them full religious liberty, though it was understood that they should not be molested. In order to provide funds a joint-stock company was formed, in which a number of English merchants were shareholders for large sums, to be repaid by the emigrants out of their labour, which was to be in common until the debt was discharged.

Returning from Holland to Southampton, they set sail thence in two vessels; but before they had gone far down the channel, the captain of the *Speedwell* declared that his ship was too crazy for the voyage, and she was left behind at Plymouth, all the emigrants embarking in the *Mayflower*. She, a vessel of one hundred and eighty tons, with forty-one families on board, then finally departed, and, after a voyage of sixty-three days, landed on a barren spot on the coast of Massachusetts, to which they gave the name of Plymouth. They had intended to settle farther south, near the Hudson River; but the captain of the *Mayflower*, either mistaking his course, or, as some say, bribed by the Dutch to land the settlers at a greater distance from the spot which they had already chosen as the site of a colony, anchored on the 18th of November, 1620, at Cape Cod.

It may be imagined that this little company of "Pilgrim Fathers" was composed of a very different class of men to those we have seen tempting fate in Virginia. Men like John Robinson, Edward Winslow, William Bradford, Miles Standish, and their companions, were, we feel, of the calibre calculated to lay the foundations of a nation such as now covers the land which they found a wilderness. Before landing, the devoted little band elected Mr. Carver their Governor, and promised to be obedient to such laws as should be made for the good of the colony. It was the 9th of December before a suitable site for their settlement was found. This was a high ground, where a quantity of land had been



cleared and planted by some previous settlers. There they found good soil, a good harbour, plenty of wood near at hand, and a "sweet brook."

Setting to work in good earnest, some employed themselves in building houses, while others fished and shot game to help out the provisions they had brought with them, and very soon the nucleus of a small town arose on the desolate shore, to which they gave the name of New Plymouth, probably out of respect to the Company under whose auspices they had come out.¹ A more unfavourable season for starting life in a new country could not have been chosen than that in which these persecuted people landed. Winter, which in this part of America is rigorous to a degree almost unknown in Western Europe, had already set in; and the colonists were so slenderly provided with what was requisite for ordinary well-being that their sufferings were terrible. By cold or famine half the company were cut off before the spring, while the survivors, in place of supplying their own and their neighbours' want, were compelled to take arms against the North Indians. Fortunately, a pestilence which raged in those parts the previous year had swept off so large a number of the natives that they were repulsed. Nothing but the high principles which inspired these men and women could have sustained them through the dangers and hardships they underwent.

At the beginning of April the *Mayflower* returned, bringing fresh supplies. Their first Governor, shortly after died, and was succeeded by William Bradford.

¹ Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts*.

The colonists now concluded a treaty of peace with the Indians, and with their assistance in procuring supplies they got through their first year. About this time new emigrants arrived from Holland, who, coming without provisions, are said to have distressed the colony by compelling it to subsist on half-rations. The scarcity, however, was probably not so embarrassing as is sometimes represented, if we may judge by a letter written by Edward Winslow in the early part of December, 1621. "I never in my life," he says, "remember a more seasonable year, and if we have once but kine, horses, and sheep, I make no question but men might live as contented here as in other parts of the world. For fish and fowl we have in great abundance. Fresh cod in summer is but coarse meat with us. Our bay is full of lobsters all summer, and affordeth variety of other fish. In September we can take a hogshead of eels in a night with small labour, and can dig them out of their beds all winter. We have mussels and orthos at our doors. Oysters we have none, but we can have them brought by the Indians when we will. Trust not too much for corn at this time, for by reason of this last company that came depending wholly on us, we shall have little enough till the harvest."

Such descriptions of the native resources of the country as this had the natural effect of bringing fresh emigrants, as well as some adventurers, whose presence was neither desirable nor convenient. In 1622 two ships were sent over by a merchant named Weston to start a plantation in Massachusetts Bay.

The crews established themselves near where Weymouth now stands, with the intention of opening up a trade in furs. But the vicious lives of these men soon led to difficulty with the Indians, who in retaliation for robbery, formed a conspiracy to destroy the new settlers, and with them the inoffensive colonists of Plymouth. A native chief to whom Winslow had shown kindness disclosed the plot, and Miles Standish, marching quickly with eight men upon the conspirators, put the ringleaders to death, and inspired the natives generally with a wholesome respect for the prowess of their white neighbours. After this episode the fur-trade scheme came to an end, and the little colony of sectaries was allowed to go on its way in peace.

For some years it did not thrive abundantly. Perhaps its ideal was too narrow and unsocial for great worldly success. The history of mankind from the earliest ages has demonstrated the futility of trying to circumscribe the human mind within the limits of any man-made rule of life. These things may be good at times for guidance, but they must break in the end, unless they give room for movement and expansion. The rule of the Puritans, as practised by them at New Plymouth, and subsequently in several of their colonies, was the reverse of this. It may be conceded that a society of Christians, uniting together to worship God, may constitute a Church, possessed of complete jurisdiction in the conduct of its own affairs, and unaccountable to any superior, and that it has a right to regulate all its affairs by the decision of the majority of

its members. But when it comes to establishing colonies on that ecclesiastical basis, and refusing the rights of citizenship to all who cannot give evidence of "being in a state of favour with God," one must demur. Yet this is what obtained in New Plymouth.

Their system of civil policy was founded on those ideas of natural equality among men to which their Church government had accustomed them. It was an admirable basis to begin upon, and has influenced the growth of democratic institutions the world over in a way that we cannot be too thankful for. All who were members of the Church were competent to take part in the legislative acts. The executive power was vested in a Governor and several assistants, who were elected annually by the Assembly.¹ As in all the other English colonies, the laws of the mother country were adopted as the groundwork of their jurisprudence ; although some diversity was introduced here in regard to the punishment of crime by borrowing from the Mosaic code.² The throwing of all their property into a common stock, and the carrying on of the work of the community by all for the common good, in imitation of the primitive Church, was another innovation which may have been justified in the early days of the settlement, but which so retarded the growth of the colony that, in the end, as at Jamestown, recourse had to be had to the worldly principle of personal property in order to secure the necessary stimulus of self-interest.

But even with this change of method the colony

¹ Chalmers, *Annals*.

² Robertson, *History of America*.

progressed so slowly that at the end of ten years it numbered but three hundred persons. Possibly this lack of vitality may be partially accounted for by the fact that for some years the colonists had no legal rights to the territory upon which they had settled. They endeavoured to remedy this defect by sending an agent to England to solicit a patent from the Crown. Their petition, however, was refused, and the most they could obtain was a grant of land and a charter of privileges from the Council of Plymouth. Even this did not help them much, for it was never confirmed by the Crown; and after the Company's surrender of its charter to Charles I., in 1635, the colony stood in the position of a merely "voluntary association held together by the tacit consent of its members to recognise the authority of laws, and submit to the jurisdiction of magistrates framed and chosen by themselves."¹

Meanwhile, under the government of Sir George Yardley, Virginia was making steady progress, and seemed on the way to assured prosperity, when, in 1622, a terrible calamity overthrew the fair prospects of the colony. It is said that the marriage of Pocahontas to an Englishman had inspired the Indians with the notion that it would be followed by a general intermarrying of native women with white men; and that when they saw that such was not to be the case, but that instead wives for the settlers were being brought from England, they were deeply offended, and began to meditate mischief, which fell upon the colony only too soon.

¹ Robertson, *History of America*.

When the new laws framed by the Colonial Assembly had been approved by the Company, they were carried over by Sir Francis Wyatt, who became Governor in 1621, and this written constitution had a great effect in inducing emigrants to go out. At the suggestion of Sandys, the treasurer, twenty young women were sent over, and in the following year a hundred more. The price of a wife was one hundred pounds of tobacco; but it soon rose to one hundred and fifty pounds, at three shillings per pound. The debts for wives had precedence of all others, and these fair colonists were so gladly received and so well treated, that others soon followed their example.

On his death Powhatan was succeeded by a chief named Opechancanough, who secretly cherished the most bitter hatred of the English. He renewed the treaty of peace, and led the colonists to have such faith in his good intentions that, though their houses were often long distances apart, so little suspicion of danger was entertained that they were frequently without weapons of any sort. But on the 22d of March, 1622, the Indians suddenly fell upon the unarmed settlers, and slaughtered them, regardless of age or sex. Some hundreds were massacred, and the number would have been greater had not the plot been divulged before all the houses had been reached. A war of retaliation and extermination ensued, the plantations in the meanwhile going uncultivated, and sickness and famine carrying off large numbers of those who had escaped the knife and the tomahawk.

This calamity called forth much sympathy in England, and subscriptions were made and stores of supplies sent out; but it had also the effect of calling public attention to the Company which had the direction of affairs in the colony. James, who never lost an opportunity to extend his power, instituted a commission of inquiry into the outbreak, which in the end resulted in the annulling of the Company's charter, after they had expended more than £100,000 of their private property on the colony. At the dissolution of the Company (1624) the annual exportation of commodities from Virginia to England did not exceed £20,000, while scarcely two thousand souls survived. A new commission was issued by James, conferring the government on Sir Francis Wyatt, with a Council of eleven holding office during the King's pleasure. The Colonial Assembly, granted but four years before, was abolished, and the only concern which the Commons of England showed in the affair was to petition the King to allow no tobacco to be imported but of the growth of the colonies.¹

The history of England's first settlement so far seemed to indicate that the Anglo-Saxon did not possess the art of colonisation; but we have to take into consideration the circumstances under which Virginia was planted, and especially the character of the King, who had the supreme direction of its affairs. Nearly everything was done that ought not to have been done, from the sending out of "gentlemen" instead of labourers to the appointing of

¹ Holmes, *American Annals*.

governors who had not the qualities for government. To his other acts of un wisdom towards the colony, James added that of ordering the Company to transport to the plantations a number of persons convicted of crimes, of whom this was thought a cheap and expeditious way of ridding himself. This method of procuring labour for the colony was continued until it was found more economical to purchase negro slaves, the first cargo of which, it may be here stated, was brought to Virginia by a Dutch ship in 1620. Twenty only were purchased at that time; but, unfortunately, they proved so good an investment that the number was increased by continual importation, until a large proportion of the population consisted of slaves.

The colonisation of Maryland presents, in some respects, a favourable contrast to that of Virginia. Though a few colonists had settled in the north of Virginia ever since the explorations of Smith in 1608, the first man who formed a plan for a regular colony was Sir George Calvert, afterwards Lord Baltimore. He, following out an idea conceived by his father, who had been Secretary of State to James I., and who, on the occasion of a visit to the colony in 1628, observing that there was no colony north of the Potomac, resolved to obtain a grant of land and colonise it with Catholics, at that time subject to bitter persecution in England. The project being put an end to, however, by his death, the idea was taken up by his son.

Lord Baltimore had, in 1623, obtained a charter from James, granting to him and his a large part of

Newfoundland, and a promising colony had been the result. This was the first formal effort at settling that island since the failure of Sir Humphrey Gil-



GEORGE CALVERT, FIRST LORD BALTIMORE.
(From the Original Picture at Gorhambury.)

bert's adventure, with the exception of a futile attempt by the brother of the latter, Sir John Gilbert, in the first years of the century.

After his Newfoundland colony had been firmly established, Lord Baltimore obtained a charter for the territory round the head of the Chesapeake, and named the country Maryland, in honour of Queen Henrietta Maria. It was declared separate from Virginia, and subject only to the Crown of England. Apart from this allegiance, Baltimore was absolute proprietor. With the assent of the framers or their delegates whom he should convene for the purpose, he was empowered to make laws for the good of the province, the only condition being that they should not be repugnant to the laws of England. Power was granted to the proprietary, with the consent of his council, to impose subsidies on just cause, and a covenant was made with the King, that neither he nor his successors should at any time impose any tallage on the colonists or their goods, or on the commodities laden within their province.

Lord Baltimore appointed his brother, Leonard Calvert, Governor, and in November, 1632, he sailed with two hundred gentlemen and a number of dependents, landing near the mouth of the Potomac in February, 1633. The first act of the Governor was to purchase land from the Indians, and with their consent he took possession of a village, which he named St. Mary's. The settlers then went resolutely to work, learning all they could from the natives, and built and planted, and shewed in all things such wisdom and good management that Maryland advanced more in six months than Virginia had done in as many years. Every encouragement was given to emigrants, food and accommoda-

tion being allowed them until they had had time to provide for themselves, and fifty acres of land granted to each in absolute fee. With a tolerance uncommon at that time, Lord Baltimore permitted freedom of worship to all Christian sects, requiring only that no one should be interfered with on account of his religious belief. "No person within this province," ran the earliest law of the colony, "professing to believe in Jesus Christ, shall be in any way troubled, molested, or discountenanced for his or her religion, or in the free exercise thereof." Thus, while the Puritans of New England persecuted those who did not embrace all their fanatical opinions, and the adherents of Episcopacy in Virginia showed no indulgence to the Puritans, the Roman Catholic colony of Maryland set an example of toleration little practised at that time even in Protestant communities.

Lord Baltimore spared nothing that could add to the welfare of the colony, spending £40,000 in the first two years. No wonder the wilderness blossomed, and that the settlement soon counted a beautiful town as its capital. In recognition of the proprietor's generosity to them, the colonists of their own accord voted him a percentage of the tobacco grown as a contribution towards his expenses.

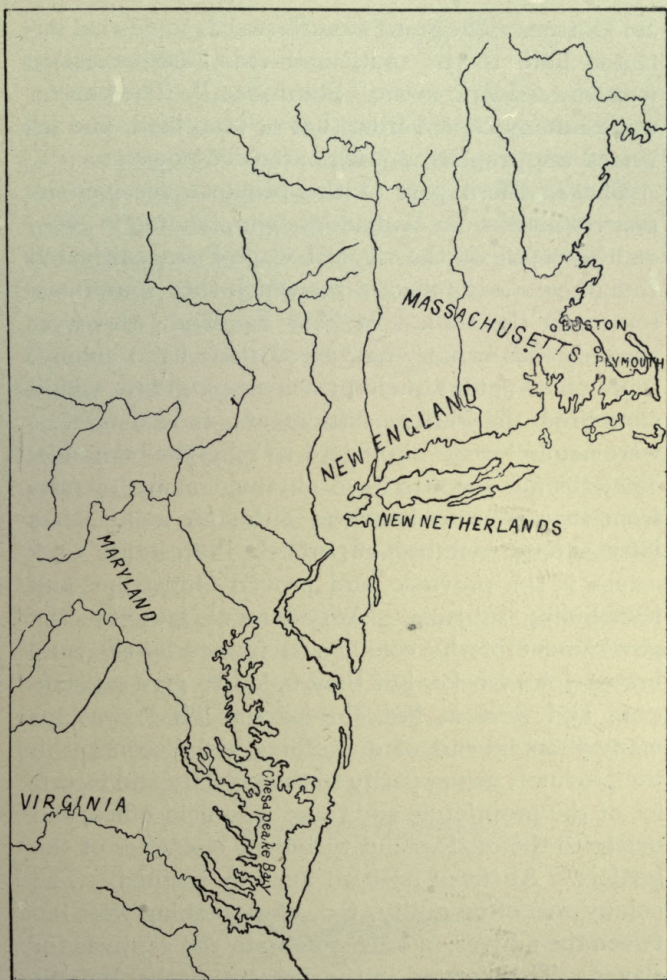
But, unfortunately, this happy state of things was not to continue. Maryland lay within the limits granted to the Virginia Company, and the Virginians appear to have looked upon it with a jealous eye. At all events, Harvey, their then Governor, espoused the cause of a man named Claybourne,

who, a year before the Earl of Baltimore's charter, had obtained a licence to traffic in any part not comprehended in another patent. His aim had been to monopolise the fur trade of the Chesapeake, and he had established a small trading post on an island in the very heart of Maryland, and now refused to submit to Lord Baltimore. Encouraged by the Governor of Virginia, he proceeded to incite the natives to revolt, and had to be put down by the strong hand. Claybourne fled, and, his estate being seized, he appealed to the King, who placed the matter in the hands of a commission to settle. The decision was in favour of Lord Baltimore. Peace and prosperity then returned for a brief period. The colony increased, and so far as its Christian white population was concerned, enjoyed perfect liberty and equality under laws framed by its Assembly. But by this time negro slavery had extended to Maryland, and a noteworthy act of the third Assembly of the province is one declaring all the people Christians, "except the slaves."

The prosperity of the colony continued until 1642, when, in consequence of the machinations of Claybourne, an Indian war broke out. After a time peace was again restored, but it was not of long continuance. In 1645 the same unruly spirit stirred up new commotions, attacking the colony with such force that the Governor was compelled to take refuge in Virginia, and for a year he was unable to suppress the revolt. Then, tranquillity being once more established, it continued without interruption until the Commonwealth, under the government of

its Assembly, now divided into an Upper and a Lower House. But with Cromwell came a change; Claybourne again forced himself to the front, and with another man, assisted by a council of ten, was appointed to rule "under the Lord Protector." For the time being there was an end of the religious toleration established by Baltimore. In the first Assembly under the Commonwealth it was declared "that none who professed the Popish religion could be protected." In short, the administration during this period presented a striking contrast to what it had been under the direction of the proprietary, and the country at large was glad when, at the Restoration, the rights of Lord Baltimore were re-established, and his son, Charles Calvert, became Governor (1662). At this time its population was estimated at twelve thousand souls.

Carolina, which in order of settlement follows next after Maryland, owes its origin to the rapacity of the courtiers of Charles II., and to the cynical ease with which that monarch rewarded his favourites and sycophants out of the belongings of others. About the time of the Restoration, indeed, a small plantation had been established by emigrants from Jamestown on the north-east of the river Chowan. But in the year 1663, Charles, who was possessed of as little religion as of morals, on the pretence of a pious zeal for propagating the Gospel among the Indians, granted to Lords Clarendon, Albemarle, Craven, Berkeley, Ashley, and some others, under the name of the Province of Carolina, the extensive region lying between N. lat. 36° and the river



ENGLISH COLONIES IN AMERICA.

St. Matteo. The grant was afterwards somewhat enlarged both to the south and north, and extended from the Atlantic to the "South Sea." The charter was evidently copied from that of Maryland, and invested the proprietors with extensive powers.

The southern part of the province received its first colonists from Barbadoes, who, landing in 1665, on the south of the river of Cape Fear, cultivated Indian corn and tobacco, for which they found customers in the traders of New England, who were the only merchants who visited their little colony. It was hoped that their principal emigrants would come from the Puritan settlements, and so matters were made "easy" in regard to religious tolerance. They do not seem to have obtained many recruits from that quarter, however, although many years later a large number of French Protestants took refuge in the province, and proved industrious and law-abiding subjects. A system of laws for the government of the colony was framed by the celebrated John Locke, but they failed to give satisfaction, and were at last abrogated. There was for many years no end of quarrelling and discontent in the province, owing partly to the rapacity and injustice of the proprietors and those who held office, and partly to the restless and turbulent character of the settlers. At times positive anarchy reigned. The colony was often guilty, too, of provoking wars between the natives, in order to obtain the captives for slaves. This created in the breasts of the Indians a hatred of the whites that nothing could allay, and which was visited upon the descendants of the latter

in a terrible fashion after a law forbidding the infamous traffic had been passed.

The first colonists, indeed, were a lawless race—the very antipodes of the law-loving Puritan settlers of New England—and nothing in the way of tyranny and oppression came amiss to them. The war with Louis XIV. encouraged them to vie with others in the practice of privateering; and when Charles forbade them, the privateers turned into pirates, and became the terror of the American seas. From the Governor downwards, all took part in the nefarious traffic, and in spite of commands from home, long continued to encourage and profit by it. However, trial and suffering taught them better ways in the end; but it is curious to read that not until the last of the Stuarts had been gathered to his rest was “the Lord’s Supper for the first time administered in Carolina.”¹

In 1680, the site of Charlestown was changed to Oyster Point, where it still stands, at the confluence of the rivers Ashley and Cooper. It was long unhealthy; but after the adjacent country had been cleared and cultivated, it became as salubrious as any other part of the colony.

¹ *Popular History of America.*





CHAPTER IV.

THE COLONY OF MASSACHUSETTS.

THE original Plymouth Company having done nothing effectual towards the colonisation of the lands which had been placed under their control, James I., in 1620, annulled their charter, and granted a patent to a new body called the "Grand Council of Plymouth," to whom he gave in absolute possession all the land between the fortieth and forty-eighth degree of latitude. No notice was taken of the Plymouth settlers, or of others who had acquired rights in those parts; and the new Council were empowered to exclude all without due licence from trading within their limits or fishing in the adjacent seas. Such a tyrannous disregard of acquired rights and interests roused the spirit of Parliament, where the King's constant assertion of his prerogative had already created a party determined to broaden the basis of the constitution, and the patent was declared void. James stormed and threatened; but the Council, seeing Parliament the stronger party, decided to yield, and adopted the wiser plan of giving patents to men who might render the land

profitable without the odious restrictions they had at first attempted.

The persons to whom the King had given these rights and privileges, amongst whom were the Duke of Lennox and the Marquis of Buckingham, were so little qualified either by nature or training for the task "of planting, ruling, ordering, and governing New England," that those tracts of the American continent embraced within their charter must have long remained unoccupied had not the same causes which instigated the expatriation of the "Pilgrim Fathers" continued to operate. Notwithstanding the hardships to which they were everywhere subjected, the Puritans showed no tendency to relax in their principles, or to decrease in numbers. On the contrary, suffering only strengthened them in their recusancy, and made the separation between them and the persecuting Church the greater and more impassable. Being at length convinced that there was no hope of any amelioration of their condition at home, they turned their attention more and more to those Western lands which appeared to have been designed by Providence for the growth and trial of a new civilisation. The reports they received from time to time of the doings of their brethren at New Plymouth, who, whatever the dangers and hardships they had to undergo, were free to live according to their conscience, convinced them that there lay their hope; and by the activity and influence of Mr. White, a Non-conformist minister of Dorchester, a number of merchants were induced to send out a few men to form a settlement at Cape Ann. After

they had been there a year they were joined by a small party from the Plymouth colony, who found those sectaries a little too narrow for their liking. Among them was Roger Conant, who was chosen Governor by this first offshoot of the original settlement.

But for the steadfastness of this gentleman and the energy of Mr. White, the enterprise, however, would have come to naught. The latter, in particular, was instrumental in getting together a number of gentlemen of his own persuasion who formed themselves into an association, and obtained from the Plymouth Council a patent under the name of "the Colony of Massachusetts," granting to them all the territory from three miles north of the River Merrimac to three miles south of the Charles River, and extending in breadth from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Profiting, however, by the experience of the Plymouth colony, they took care to have their patent confirmed by Charles I. (March 4, 1629), who was then busy dissolving his third Parliament.

The new association was incorporated as a body politic, with the power, according to their charter, to dispose of lands, and to govern the people who should settle upon them. The executive power was committed to a Governor and a Council of Assistants; that of legislation to the body of proprietors, who might make laws, and enforce the observance of them, in consonance with the Constitution of England. The first Governor of the colony and his assistants were named by the Crown; the right of electing their successors was vested in the corpor-

ation. Land was to be held on the same liberal tenure enjoyed by the Virginian Company; and, as in the case of the Virginia colony, they were granted temporary exemption from taxes, as well as from imposts on either imported or exported goods. Finally, emigrants and their descendants were declared to be entitled to all the rights and privileges of British subjects.

As soon as the necessary vessels could be got ready after the completion of the charter, a company of three hundred emigrants were sent out under the conduct of John Endicott, a man of the sternest religious enthusiasm. They settled at a place called, in the language of the natives, Naumkeag, but which Endicott renamed Salem, in token of the peace the exiles hoped to find there. In the spring of the ensuing year (1630) these hardy pioneers were followed by the largest company of Puritans that had yet left the shores of England. Among them were the daughters of noblemen, and gentlemen of the highest culture and refinement in the land. They sailed from Southampton, the quays and even the housetops being crowded with friends and others to see them go, "and as they floated down the river, the emigrants, with weeping eyes and sobbing voices, bade farewell to the land whose cruelty could not efface their love."¹

When, in July, they reached their destination, they found a most unpromising state of things. Endicott's little settlement was in a sad condition. Nearly a third of them had died during the winter;

¹ *Popular History of America.*

many were sick, and the corn and bread of the first emigrants were sufficient to last for a fortnight only, and they were obliged to look to the newcomers for food. Notwithstanding the large supplies they had brought with them, there was soon such scarcity that ere long almost the sole support of the colony was clams, mussels, ground-nuts, and acorns. Disease and the rigours of the climate carried off two hundred; another hundred returned to England in the spring. But notwithstanding all their hardships, the undaunted English spirit of these people carried them through; in their own expressive language, they remembered "how after a lower ebb God has raised up their neighbours of Plymouth."

It is impossible to withhold one's admiration from these heroic settlers, who for the sake of liberty dared and endured so much. They quickly proceeded to acts, however, that cannot be read of without feelings of the deepest condemnation. For no sooner had they obtained that freedom of conscience for which they themselves had suffered and fought, than they straightway proceeded to deny it to others. It is a degrading record, and one which it would be pleasing to pass over in silence if that were possible. But so much depends upon it in this colonising story, that it is necessary to dwell upon it, however briefly.

So early as Endicott's governorship, the spirit of intolerance manifested itself. One of the first acts of the colonists was to constitute themselves into a Church, divested of all "superstitious practices." The form of public worship they adopted was "with-

out liturgy, disincumbered of every superfluous ceremony, and reduced to the lowest standard of Calvinistic simplicity.”¹ Some of their number, however, retaining their affection for the ritual of the English Church, were so much hurt at the utter disappearance of it, that they assembled separately for the worship of God. For thus daring to act according to their conscience, two brothers, who were the chief offenders, were summoned before Endicott, and though they were among the number of original patentees, they were expelled from the society and sent back to England.

But this was only the mild beginning of the intolerant spirit which afterwards showed itself. It should here be noted that when some of the more considerable persons elected to throw in their lot with the colonists of Massachusetts, foreseeing the many inconveniences that were likely to arise “from their subjection to laws, made without their own consent, and framed by a society which must always be imperfectly acquainted with their situation,” they required that the corporate powers of the Council should be transferred to the colonists. Although the Council appear to have been in no wise loth to divest themselves of a responsibility that promised but little profit, they had doubts as to the legality of the desired act. However, after some consideration, they “determined that the charter should be transferred, and the government settled in New England.”²

Thus, as it were by the stroke of a pen, was the

¹ Robertson, *History of America*.

² Robertson.

jurisdiction of a trading corporation in England converted into a provincial government in America, and this without permission asked of either Parliament or King. It is difficult to understand how such an act could be passed unnoticed by a monarch so jealous of his prerogative as Charles I., but it seems never to have been called in question; and when the large batch of emigrants—fifteen hundred in number—went over in 1630, they took with them John Winthrop, their first Governor, his Deputy, and eighteen assistants, in whom, together with the body of freemen who should settle in Massachusetts, were invested all the corporate rights of the Company. An attempt was made—successfully for a time—to deprive the freemen of their rights, and vest them in the Council of Assistants alone. There was so much to do in the early months of the colony, in fixing upon sites for townships and making provision for subsistence during the winter, that preoccupation may account for this negligence or indifference of the freemen. However, they resumed their rights the following year, when we have the astounding spectacle of the freemen of Salem, Boston, Dorchester, Charlestown, and other places, all of which had now found a beginning, agreeing to place upon the virgin page of their statute book a law that could not be outdone for intolerance by the most tyrant-ridden monarchy in existence. They enacted that “none shall hereafter be admitted freemen, or be entitled to any share in the government, or be capable of being chosen magistrates, or even of serving as jurymen,

but such as have been received into the Church as members.”¹ No other form of worship but the Puritan was to be permitted. Absence from church, except in the case of sickness, was punishable by fine or imprisonment; and any infringement of the laws, which were to be in accordance with Scripture, as interpreted by the ministers and elders, was to be punished by fine, imprisonment, whipping, banishment, and before many years were past, by torture and death.²

One is apt to doubt if it be the acts of Christian men that we are reading. It is only charitable to reflect, however, that in our weak human nature all acts are apt to beget their kind—bloodshed, bloodshed; persecution, persecution; and broad-minded tolerance and justice, the like qualities. One good result these ecclesiastical infamies produced—they caused the wilderness to be peopled all the quicker. Many of the adjacent colonies owed their first beginning either to the banishment of recusant members or to the voluntary withdrawal of others for the sake of greater freedom of conscience.

One of the first to suffer such indignity is worthy of special mention, as being of a rare type in those days, a man of a grasp and breadth of mind ahead of his time, born, as would seem, to make another advance onward towards a nobler civilisation. This was Roger Williams, a minister of great learning and piety, who, though only thirty years of age, had already suffered imprisonment for conscience' sake. Arriving in Massachusetts in 1631, he was more than

¹ Hutchinson.

² *Acts and Laws of Massachusetts Bay.*

astonished to find in the wilderness the identical spirit from which he had fled.¹ He at once raised his voice against the enormity, laying down the fundamental principle, which has since become one of the corner-stones of American independence, that the civil law has no right to intermeddle with the religious beliefs of men. He contended that no one should be punished for any breach of the first four commandments of the Decalogue, or for the so-called desecration of the Sabbath. As regards compulsory attendance at church, that intolerance called forth all the vials of his wrath. "Enforce attendance at church!" he cried. "Why, that is to mock God in his very temple by the worship of hypocrites! As well apparel a corpse in new garments, and think you have breathed into it the breath of life, as force an unwilling mind to worship its Creator. No one should be bound to attend—nay, no one be bound to support, any form of religion against his own consent." But, said the claimers of church-rates, "Is not the labourer worthy of his hire?" "Certainly," was the reply of this inflexible parson, "from those who hire him."

There was no room for such an uncompromising spirit at Boston, and he removed to Salem, where he was appointed "teacher" to the church. But Salem was under the jurisdiction of the Governor and Council of Massachusetts, and so neither he nor the Church was allowed any peace till he was driven out. Taking refuge with the more liberal "Sepa-

¹ Elton, *Life of Roger Williams*.

ratists" of Plymouth, he remained there for two years, finding his gifts admired, and, "his teaching well approved." At the end of that time he was invited to return to Salem to fill the place of one of their ministers who had just died. He accepted the invitation. The authorities, however, again interfered, and though the Salemites kicked, they quickly submitted when the General Court laid a hand on their possessions. So the poor man was cast forth by these sticklers about conscience "for conscience' sake." It was a sad satire. In order to avoid arrest and forcible shipment to England, Williams, leaving wife and children, plunged, in mid-winter, into the depths of the forest, where for three months "he wandered amid frost and snow, wild beasts and savage men, often for days together knowing neither bed nor bread." He found the natives kinder than his co-religionists. Ever since his first coming he had shown himself a friend of the Indians, had visited them frequently, and learned their language, and now they showed how truly kindly acts beget kindly deeds.

At length Williams resolved to settle at a place called Seekonk, and began to build and plant. But Seekonk happened to be within the jurisdiction of the good Pilgrims of Plymouth, and straightway the outcast had a loving letter from Governor Winslow, asking him to remove a little farther away, as they did not wish to offend the Massachusetts Bay people by harbouring a man banished by them. Roger accordingly crossed to the other side of the river, and choosing a suitable spot, he bought

ground from the Indians and laid the foundation of the town of Providence. He was speedily joined by others of his way of thinking, and this "shelter for all persons distressed in conscience" grew apace. Massachusetts still shewed its intolerant and persecuting spirit, compelling Williams in the end to seek a charter for his infant colony, which, with the assistance of Sir Henry Vane, he was successful in obtaining. This, however, was not until 1643, when, as we shall see, the colony had largely increased.

The case of Roger Williams was but a type of many others, and hence his banishment brought no peace to Christian Massachusetts. Religious controversy, from the very nature of the soil, became more and more rampant. It was the custom among the brethren to assemble once a week for religious discussion and improvement. At these meetings only men were present, and as they served at least to break the monotony of colonial life, some of the women seem to have thought there would be no harm in holding similar gatherings. They accordingly met at the house of Mrs. Hutchinson, whose husband was one of the most respectable members of the colony, and employed themselves in the like pious exercises. Anne Hutchinson was the leading spirit of these "gossipings," as they were called. She was, according to Governor Winthrop, "a woman of ready wit and bold spirit, who brought with her many dangerous errors."¹ Her chief offence appears to have consisted in criticising the parsons.

¹ Winthrop, *Journal*.

Not only did she utter insinuations against the learning and talents of some of them, but even questioned the soundness of their doctrines, denouncing them as "a generation of vipers, or helpless bondslaves to a covenant of works." This kind of thing raised such a to-do that the whole colony was presently thrown into a state of the greatest excitement and agitation. Anne's eloquence and enthusiasm gained her many admirers and proselytes, not only among the ignorant, but among the educated and enlightened. Sir Henry Vane, son of the Privy Councillor, who for the time being had thrown in his lot with the colonists, and was at the time Governor, "espoused and defended her wildest tenets."¹ The theological storm had its political effects. When the time came round for the annual election, the most strenuous opposition was offered to Mrs. Hutchinson's friends. One minister, we read, "gat up a tree," and so fiercely harangued the brethren that, in the phrase of a later day, the Antinomian heresiarchs were speedily in like manner "up a tree." Winthrop was re-elected Governor, and Vane and his party were all out of office.

In the cold light of to-day there is something extremely ludicrous about the whole episode. But the actors in the comedy were intensely in earnest. The new government was no sooner in office than it passed a law to put down "Mistress" Hutchinson's heresy. The provisions thereof made it a penal offence to offer hospitality or to sell land to friends of "Mistress Anne," who were just then

¹ Robertson, *History of America*.

expected from England. Vane stood up warmly for religious liberty; but the bigots were too strong for him, and in the end he shook the dust off his feet and embarked for England. No sooner had he gone than Mrs. Hutchinson was brought up for trial, and of course it was a foregone conclusion that she should be banished the colony. The worst that her bitterest enemy could say against her was that "she charged us to be unable ministers of the Gospel, and she spake plump that we were not sealed." The good woman may have been wrong as to the good men being "not sealed," but she undoubtedly hit the mark when she declared them to be "unable ministers of the Gospel."

The banishment of Mrs. Hutchinson caused many of her adherents to migrate to neighbouring colonies. She and two friends, by the advice of Roger Williams, obtained a grant of Rhode Island from the Indians, and there they founded a colony, which some years later was joined with Providence in a common charter. It is worthy of note that though Mistress Anne resumed her "gossipings" in her new abode they proved perfectly harmless, because nobody took any notice of them.

To similar causes the colony of Connecticut owed its beginning. In 1630, the Earl of Warwick acquired from the Plymouth Council a grant of the territory extending one hundred and twenty miles in a straight line from the Narragansett River to the south-east, and in breadth, of course, from sea to sea.¹ This land in the following year he made over

¹ Trumbull, *History of Connecticut*.

to Lord Say and Seal and Lord Brooke, who, "alarmed at the arbitrary measures of Charles I.," took a resolution to settle in these wild regions in order to enjoy such civil and religious liberty as they deemed becoming to men. About the same time, an Indian sachem applied to the colonies of Massachusetts and Plymouth to establish settlements on the Connecticut River, in order to help him against a neighbouring tribe called the Pequods. The Governor of Massachusetts was against the proposal on account of the large number of Indians who infested that region. The Plymouth people, however, liked the scheme so well that they resolved to send out a colony on their own account. A small party set sail, taking with them the materials for a house. On arriving at the mouth of the Connecticut, however, they found some Dutch traders from New York were before them, and had built a fort. The Hollanders claimed priority of possession and ordered the Englishmen to retire, threatening to fire upon them if they did not. Laughing at the bellicose Hans Schnapps, the hardy colonists sailed boldly under their guns, and landing on the west bank of the river, erected their house, and fortified it with palisades.¹ The Dutchmen protested, but in vain; land was bought of the Indians, other colonists made their appearance, and the fort men presently took themselves off.

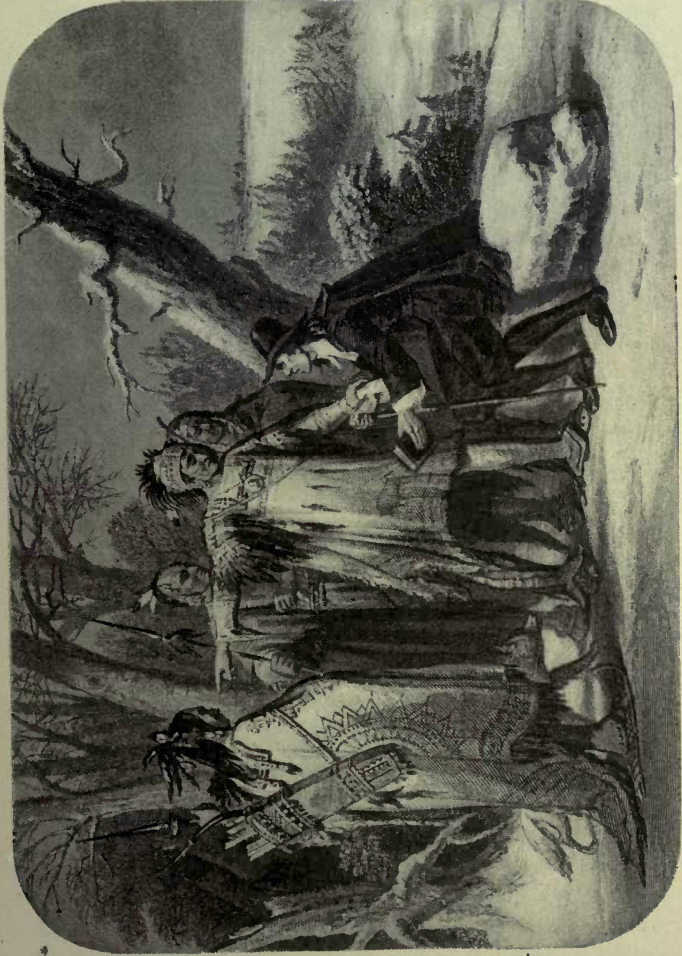
But the colony did not make much headway until, in 1636, Mr. Hooker, a popular minister of Massachusetts Bay, decided to migrate thither with all

¹ Winthrop, *Journal*.

his flock. A number of persons who had imbibed Mrs. Hutchinson's views, and were offended with those who wished to put them down, elected to go with him. In all about a hundred colonists, with their wives and families, set forth, and after a fatiguing march of many days through woods and swamps, driving before them their cattle, whose milk supplied them with food, they reached the west side of the river, and there laid the foundation of the town of Hartford. Springfield and Weathersfield soon followed.

Although part of the district lay outside the limits of the territory granted to Massachusetts Bay, the new settlers accepted a commission from the Governor and his Council, empowering them to exercise a jurisdiction which it was not theirs to give. However, as they had taken possession, so they held possession. The Dutch, as we have seen, tamely yielded their right; Lords Say and Seal and Brooke followed their example, making over to the colony whatever title they might have had to the lands in that region. The colony soon disclaimed all dependence on Massachusetts, although its respect for the wisdom of the older settlement led its rulers to adopt a very similar form of government.

But ere the colony had well planted its roots in the new home a danger arose that came very near terminating its existence. The Pequods devised a plan to clear the entire region of whites. To have its full effect it was requisite that the plot should be joined by the Narragansetts. These were their mortal foes; but the Pequods thought they might



ROGER WILLIAMS RECEIVED BY THE INDIANS.

be willing to sink old feuds in order to wipe out the common enemy. The intelligence of this movement, which was emphasized by the murder of a white trader, fell like a clap of thunder on Massachusetts. The whole colony was filled with dismay. If these two powerful tribes were to unite, they might prove more than a match for the English, notwithstanding their superiority in weapons of war. In their alarm, the colonists suddenly bethought them of Roger Williams. As we have seen he was a great friend of the Indians, and especially of the Narragansetts.

To them he had gone when his own people had cast him out, and they had treated him with the utmost kindness and consideration. More than all the rest of his countrymen, the Narragansetts honoured Roger Williams. Remembering these things, the colonists sent and begged him to use his influence to prevent the projected league. No sooner did Williams hear the petition than he took his canoe, and, pushing off from Rhode Island to the opposite shore, in the face of a fierce gale, appeared among the Narragansetts. The Pequod emissaries were already at the nefarious work of endeavouring to draw them into their murderous design. For three days Williams discussed the matter with the chiefs, counteracting the influence of the Pequods, and in the end prevailed. Their proposal was rejected. But, though unable to induce the Narragansetts to join them, the Pequods resolved to go on the war-path alone, and signalised their intent by more murders.

War was now declared by the colonists against the Pequods, and active operations were commenced

against them. The Massachusetts troops were delayed by the singular circumstance that some of the officers, as well as of the rank and file, were under a "covenant of works," and so had to be replaced by others, before they could advance with the assurance that a blessing would rest upon their arms.¹ Meanwhile the Connecticut levies had assailed the enemy in one of their strongest positions. This was at the head of the river Mistick, where they had surrounded a stretch of rising ground, in the midst of a swamp, with stout palisades. Here the English, supported by their Indian allies, Mohegans as well as Narragansetts, came upon them by surprise; and while some galled them with an incessant fire through the openings betwixt the palisades, others made their way inside the enclosure, and setting fire to their tents, threw the occupants into the wildest terror and confusion. Numbers of the women and children perished in the flames; others were captured and made slaves of. The warriors, in attempting to escape, were either slain by the English, or else, falling into the hands of their Indian allies, who surrounded the place at a little distance, were reserved for a more cruel death. Another body of Pequods, hastening to their rescue, met with a similar fate.

On the arrival of the troops from Massachusetts, the English followed up their victory with great energy, hunting the Indians from one place of retreat to another, till in less than three months the Pequods were utterly defeated. One body of colonists, com-

¹ Robertson, *History of America*.

manded by two ministers, surprised a division of the enemy in a swamp, and in a sharp engagement slew all but eighty, who were made prisoners and subsequently put to death in cold blood. By this war the Pequods were utterly wiped out as a nation. A considerable number who were taken alive were sold as slaves in the Bermudas, others were reserved for servitude among the colonists themselves. The few that escaped death or slavery took refuge among neighbouring Indians, and became incorporated with them.

Reprehensible as were these severities of the colonists, they undoubtedly served their purpose in giving the aborigines so high an opinion of the valour and military skill of the English as to secure a lasting peace and increasing prosperity to their settlements.





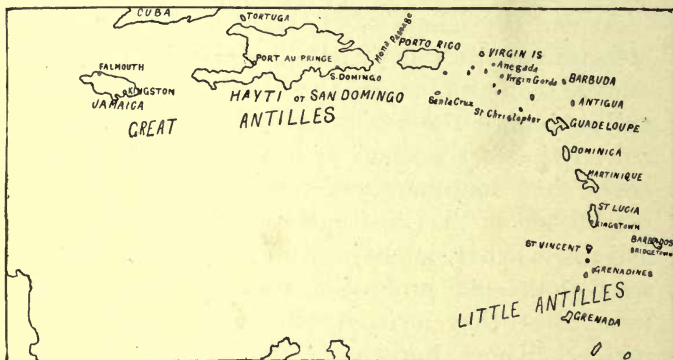
CHAPTER V.

COLONISATION IN THE WEST INDIES.

AFTER the failure of the Earl of Cumberland's attempt to seize Puerto Rico, nothing in the way of general colonisation in the West Indies was attempted until the year 1625, when Barbadoes received the first nucleus of a settlement. English rovers had for many years previous to this been established at St. Christopher, one of the Leeward Islands, whence, in conjunction with some Frenchmen of the like profession, who had landed on the same coast, they levied tribute upon Spanish commerce. These buccaneers made common cause against the Caribs, and drove them out of the island, which they then divided between them, and held until 1630, when they were dislodged by a Spanish fleet. Those who were not killed or taken prisoners fled to the neighbouring islands until the danger was over, at which time many returned to St. Kitts. In this way a number of the Windward and Leeward Islands came to harbour whole nests of pirates, and these in after years led to more respectable and permanent settlements.

But in the year 1624 a ship belonging to Sir Wil-

liam Courteen, a wealthy London merchant, having during a storm sought shelter in the harbour of Barbadoes, afterwards named Carlisle Bay, attention was called in England to its fertility and beauty. Lord Leigh, afterwards the Earl of Marlborough, in the last year of James I., obtained from that monarch a grant of the island in perpetuity, and under the authority of this patent, Courteen, in 1625, sent out two vessels with a party of between



WINDWARD AND LEEWARD ISLANDS.

thirty and forty colonists. Establishing themselves on a spot where, twenty years before, the captain of an English ship named the *Olive Blossom* had erected a cross with an inscription to the effect that he thereby took possession of the island in the name of King James, they there commenced the building of a town which they called Jamestown. The settlement was, however, so ill-supported from home that for some time it made but little progress.

It appears that, prior to Marlborough's patent, the Earl of Carlisle had obtained from James the warrant for a grant of all the Caribbean Islands, twenty-two in number. But before he could put into execution his project of establishing "a large and copious colony of English, to be named the Carlisle Province," which was to include all the Caribbean Islands from St. Christopher to Trinidad, his patent was revoked, and a grant made in favour of Sir William Courteen of several islands of the Caribbean group, including Barbadoes. This little job was arranged by the Earl of Pembroke during Carlisle's absence on a diplomatic mission; but on that nobleman's return he had sufficient interest at court to secure the abrogation of Lord Pembroke's patent and the complete confirmation of his own original grant. He had in the meantime agreed to give the Earl of Marlborough three hundred pounds a year for his rights in Barbadoes. In 1628, sixty-four colonists were sent out by the Society of London Merchants, who had obtained concession of ten thousands acres of land from Lord Carlisle. They landed in Carlisle Bay, and there founded a rival settlement to that formed by the earlier planters. A jealous feud thereupon sprang up between the two parties of settlers, which led to actual fighting and bloodshed. Lord Carlisle, in 1629, obtained a further confirmation of his charter, and, sending out another contingent of emigrants under Sir William Tufton as Governor, reduced the rival faction to submission. The prosperous development of the island, which is the most easterly of the Caribbean

group, and no larger than the Isle of Wight, now began. Maize, sweet potatoes, yams, and plantains were cultivated for home consumption, and indigo, cotton, tobacco, aloes, and ginger for export. It was the first colony in which the sugar cane was planted, and sugar soon became the staple of trade. Under Governor Bell, appointed in 1645, the island made rapid progress. Good laws were made, a judicial system established, and from the first the colony enjoyed a full measure of British freedom.

Barbadoes soon became of importance, not only as a prosperous over-sea sprout of the motherland, but as a centre from which the neighbouring islands could be planted. Of these the chief were Antigua, Nevis, and Montserrat. Antigua was perhaps the most important of these early acquisitions after Jamaica and Barbadoes. It was first colonised by Sir Thomas Warner in 1632. Four years later it was desolated by the French from Martinique; but on its restoration to England by the treaty of Breda, the colony was re-established by the Governor of Barbadoes, who sent thither some of his settlers; and its excellent facilities for the cultivation of sugar soon made it a favourite place of resort. Among its other products were—and still are—tamarinds, arrowroot, and cotton.

Some of the Caribbean group were only seized to be presently abandoned, and not permanently occupied by Englishmen until many years later. Several, of which St. Christopher was the chief, became prosperous settlements for a time, but, from various causes, passed out of English hands, only to be re-

covered long afterwards. Barbadoes was the only one of the earlier group of West Indian Islands that flourished exceedingly during the seventeenth century; but even in its prosperity there were many disturbing influences. These very influences, however, were in some respects powerful aids to its advancement. The difficulties in England, arising out of the contest between Charles I. and Parliament, which were driving such numbers of Englishmen to seek a home on the mainland of North America, induced many also to cast in their lot with the settlers of this little island in the summer seas. In 1650, only twenty-five years after the landing of Sir William Courteen's first batch of settlers, the white population had increased to twenty thousand persons, besides a large number of negro slaves. In 1647, the second Earl of Carlisle entered into an agreement with Lord Willoughby of Parham, whereby the latter undertook to go out as lieutenant-general "for the better settling and recovering of the islands," on condition that he should enjoy half the rights in the Caribbean group for twenty-one years. An interesting episode in the history of Barbadoes arose out of this treaty. Willoughby, who, from being a Parliamentarian, was this time manifesting a growing sympathy with the opposite party, shortly before the execution of Charles I. was impeached for high treason, and took refuge in Holland. Proceeding thence in 1650 to Barbadoes, he at once set to work to make the islands under his charge a stronghold for Charles II. Civil war had already broken out in the colony, and the new

“ lieutenant-general ” lost no time in taking measures to put down the local Roundheads. He proved so successful that Cromwell found it necessary to despatch a fleet, strengthened by a body of soldiers, under Sir George Ayscue, to bring him to terms. Ayscue arrived in the middle of October, 1657, but it was not until the 12th of the following January that Willoughby, influenced by the counsels of a moderate party in the colony, decided to surrender. The island and its dependencies then quietly submitted to the government of the Commonwealth.¹

The peace brought about was followed by a fresh period of prosperity, although it was to some extent helped forward by a means which the humanity of the present day would condemn as the grossest barbarism. In 1657 between seven and eight thousand Scots, who were taken prisoners at the battle of Worcester, were “ sold as slaves to the plantations of the American Isles,” many of them being transported to Barbadoes. Not many years afterwards, seventy persons, “ including divines, officers, and gentlemen,” who had been detected in the Salisbury plot of 1666, were similarly disposed of to the Barbadoes planters for fifteen hundred pounds of sugar apiece.² In a pamphlet of the time these unfortunate captives are described as being “ bought and sold from one planter to another, or attached like horses or beasts for the debts of their masters, being whipped at the whipping-posts as rogues, and sleeping in styes worse than hogs in England.”

¹ Record Office, Colonial Series, vol. xi.

² Bourne, *The Story of Our Colonies*.

This scandalous system was carried on for many years; but in the end humanity prevailed, and these white slaves were given their liberty and allowed to



LORD WILLOUGHBY OF PARHAM.

take their place with the other free colonists. But though this blot was in time wiped from the broad escutcheon of England's honour, that of negro slavery was allowed to remain, and even to increase.

In 1676, although the white population of the island still remained at twenty thousand, the number of black slaves held by them amounted to thirty-two thousand.

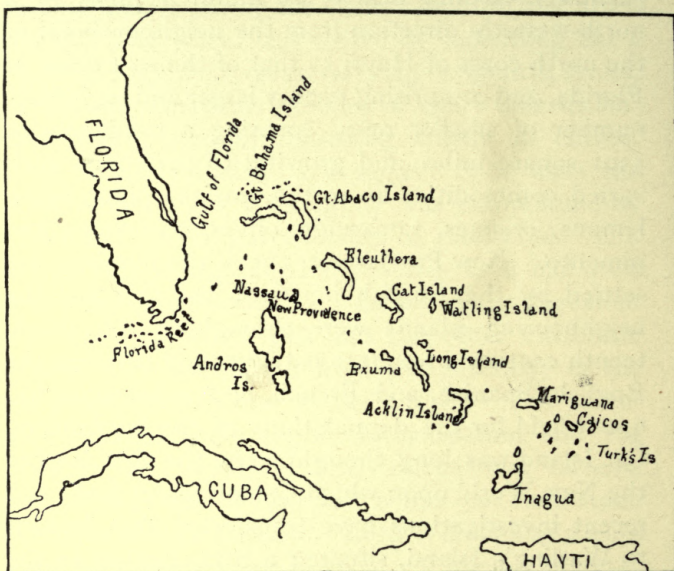
A valuable trade was carried on between England and Barbadoes during the Commonwealth and afterwards. The island was visited by something like a hundred ships every year, carrying emigrants, slaves, cattle, and European produce of every description; their return cargoes consisting chiefly of cotton, wool, tobacco, indigo, and sugar. Soon after the Restoration, Lord Willoughby was reappointed by Charles II. to the governorship of the island. Under his rule it continued to flourish as it had done under the Commonwealth. In 1663 an arrangement was made by which this and the other Caribbean islands were transferred from the authority of the old proprietors to that of the Crown. The patentees received some slight compensation, and the planters were established as independent owners, subject to a tax of four and a half per cent. upon the value of their exports. Lord Willoughby's reign came to a sudden end in 1666. While on an expedition with seventeen ships to punish the French at Guadaloupe, who had committed numerous depredations upon the neighbouring islands claimed by Great Britain, he was overtaken by a terrific hurricane, when fifteen of his ships with their crews, and he with them, were totally lost. He was succeeded by his brother, Lord William Willoughby, during whose governorship the division of the Caribbean islands into Windward and Leeward was made. In

1664 the population was found to consist of 17,187 free persons, 2318 unfree (that is, persons transported for crime and other causes), and 45,602 negro slaves.

Next after Barbadoes in point of date comes the colonisation of the Bahamas, an extensive cluster of islands stretching nearly six hundred miles in a north-westerly direction from the neighbourhood of the north coast of Hayti to that of the east coast of Florida, and comprising twenty larger and an infinite number of smaller ones, covering a total area of 5391 square miles, and growing to perfection such varied commodities as cotton, maize, pine-apples, lemons, oranges, tamarinds, olives, cocoanuts, and pimento. New Providence, one of the number, was settled by the English in 1629; but this and the neighbouring islands were throughout the seventeenth century a frequent battleground between the English, Spanish, and French, and a yet more frequent field for the depredations of the buccaneers. Cat Island was long thought to be the first land of the New World upon which Columbus set foot; but recent investigations have transferred that honour to Watling's Island, situated a little farther to the east.

The next important addition to the carcanet of the Indies was Jamaica. When the discoverer of America visited the island, its inhabitants, who were estimated to number upwards of sixty thousand, were "a tractable, docile people; equal to any employment, modest in their manners; of a quick and ready genius in matters of traffic, in which they greatly excelled the neighbouring islanders; more

devoted, also, to the mechanic arts; more industrious; and surpassing them all in acuteness of understanding.”¹ By 1655 there was only the merest remnant of these people left, and what might have been one of Spain’s richest dependencies in the



BAHAMA ISLANDS.

West Indies, had for its only tenants a scattered population of enervated Europeans and degraded negroes. In that year it was captured almost without a blow by a force of seven thousand Englishmen sent out by Cromwell to further cripple the power of Spain in the West Indies. The expedition was

¹ Long, *History of Jamaica*.

under the command of Admiral Penn and General Venables, whose orders were first to seize San Domingo; but having made a signal failure there, they turned their attention to Jamaica with better success—indeed, it fell into their hands without a stroke.

For a long time the island was far from prosperous. Many Scotch and Irish emigrants settled in it, as well as Puritans from England and the American colonies; but they did not get along well together, and they were besides harassed by the Spaniards and by the negroes whom they had introduced into the island to replace the extinct native race, and who were now living free from all control in the fastnesses of the mountains. These Maroons, as they were called, kept up an incessant warfare against the settlers, who, besides, died in great numbers from the effects of the climate. In 1659, an attempt was made from San Domingo to reconquer the island, but it was defeated, and soon after the remaining Spaniards were expelled. The Maroons, however, whose numbers were augmented from time to time by fugitive negroes from the English plantations, continued to defy the authorities for nearly a century and a half, notwithstanding the cruel punishment to which they were subjected if captured in open hostilities, or tracked to their caves by bloodhounds.¹

Cromwell appears to have taken a special interest in Jamaica as the one foreign acquisition of his victorious arms, and conceived the bold idea of trans-

¹ Montgomery Martin, *The West Indies*.

porting to its shores the Puritan colonists of New England, as a chosen people to a land of promise. But the New Englanders, who had now become used to their Transatlantic home, did not fall in with his views, and so the scheme came to naught. Until 1661 the colony was under military rule; but in that year civil government was established under a Governor and a Legislative Council, which in the ensuing year was changed to a more popular Assembly. This act of Charles II. seemed to inaugurate a period of great prosperity. In 1662, its population consisted of 3653 whites and 552 negro slaves; by 1673 the English population had risen to 7768 and the black to 9504. Planters had gradually taken up the best part of the land in the beautiful and fertile island, while towns as centres for trade and commerce had spread on every hand. Many of them, however, thrived even more by the illicit gains acquired in connection with the buccaneers, who for so long made Jamaica the headquarters of their nefarious traffic against the Spanish possessions.

As we have already seen, before the English occupied Jamaica, numbers of pirates had established themselves in various West Indian islands, but especially on that of San Domingo, where, when not on their piratical excursions, they employed themselves in hunting the wild oxen that abounded in the island, and that were brought thither originally by the Spaniards. The skins of these animals they sold to the traders whose vessels visited those parts, while the flesh, imitating the custom of the natives,

they preserved by drying in smoke in places called *buccans*¹—hence their name of buccaneers. When tired of this work, or when an opportunity of plunder offered itself, they would be off on piratical excursions; and then, the booty disposed of, and the proceeds squandered in riotous living, their old haunts would see them again.

It was a barbarous life, and it made barbarians of those who engaged in it. Their common dress consisted of a shirt dipped in the blood of the animals they killed; a pair of drawers dirtier than the shirt; a leathern girdle, in which a short cutlass was hung and several knives, a hat without a rim, but with a small peak in front; and shoes without stockings. Their ambition was satisfied if they possessed a gun which would carry balls of an ounce in weight, and a pack of from twenty to thirty dogs.² The Spaniards found these men such dangerous neighbours that they determined to get rid of them; and when they could not do that by harrying their settlements, and burning and slaying whenever they could get a chance, they finally hit upon the expedient of slaying all the wild cattle, and so putting an end to their chief means of support.

But, in truth, the Spaniards did not improve matters by thus dispersing the buccaneers; for, needing a home and a rendezvous, they made choice of the small island of Tortuga, about two leagues northwest of San Domingo, and fortifying themselves there, made organised depredations upon the Spanish colonies of Cuba and Hispaniola, and the still

¹ Raynal, *History of the East and West Indies*.

² Raynal.

richer territories of Spain upon the mainland. Though the leading spirits of these desperadoes were chiefly English and French, the main body of them were recruited from all nations. They called themselves the Brethren of the Coast, and were bound together by the strongest oaths of allegiance, as well as by ties of self-interest and safety. "Property," we are told, "so far as regards the means of sustenance, whether obtained in the chase or by pillage, was in common among this hardy brotherhood; and, as they had no domestic ties—neither wife nor child, brother nor sister, being known among the buccaneers—the want of family relations was supplied by strict comradeship, one partner occasionally attending to household duties while the other was engaged in the chase. Their chief virtue was courage, which, urged by desperation, was often carried to an extreme unparalleled among other warlike associations. The fear of the gallows, which has frequently converted a thief into a murderer, made the buccaneer a hero and a savage. Hardihood, the habit and power of extreme endurance, might also, if exerted in a better cause, be reckoned among the virtues of the buccaneers, had not their long seasons of entire privation been always followed by scenes of the most brutal excess. Their grand principle, the one thing needful to their existence, was fidelity. As their associations were voluntary, their engagements never extended beyond the crime or enterprise on hand, though they were frequently renewed. The ablest, the most brave, active, fortunate, and intriguing of their number was elected

their commander; but all the fighting men appear to have assisted at councils. The same power which chose their leader could displace him, and this was frequently done, either from caprice or expediency. They sometimes settled personal quarrels by duel; but offences against the fraternity were visited by different punishments, as, in extreme cases, death, abandonment on a desert island, or simple banishment from the society.

“ A party having agreed upon a cruise, the day and place for embarkation was fixed, and every man repaired on board the ship with a specific quantity of powder and shot. The next concern was to secure provisions, which consisted mostly of pork. Many of the Spaniards raised large herds of swine for the supply of the planters, and from their yards abundance was procured with no trouble save that in which the ferocious buccaneers delighted, robbery, often accompanied by murder. Turtle slightly salted was another article of food which they stored, and for beeves and wild hogs they trusted to their firearms. Bread they seldom tasted, and at sea never thought about. Of this food every man ate generally twice a day, or at his own pleasure, and without limitation, there being in this respect no distinction between the commander and the meanest seaman. The vessel fairly victualled, a final council was held, which determined the destination of the cruise and the place of operations; and articles were generally drawn up and subscribed, which regulated the division of the spoils. The carpenter, the sail-maker, the surgeon, and the commander were in the

first place paid out of the common stock. Wounds were next considered, the value of the right arm, the most valuable member of the buccaneer's body, being reckoned equal to six slaves; the eye and the finger had the same value, which was one slave.¹ The remainder was equally shared, save that the captain had five shares and his mate two.

“The first maxim in the code of the buccaneer, dictated by necessity, was, ‘No prey, no pay.’ In their cruises, the freebooters often put into remote harbours to careen or refit their ships, to obtain fruits and fish, to lie in wait for the Spanish traders, and to plunder either natives or Spaniards. The former they sometimes carried away, selling the men as slaves, whilst the women were compelled to labour among those of the buccaneers who followed the chase.”²

Such were the wild brethren who made life a terror to the dwellers along the coasts and rivers of the Spanish islands and settlements, who disposed of the unrighteous gains to the traders frequenting their depot at Tortuga, and who there spent their gains in every description of riotous excess. But at length the Spaniards, collecting a large force, fell upon this pirate hold while the chief buccaneers were away, and wasted it with fire and sword. France then seized the island, and forbade all freebooters the use of it except those of their own na-

¹ The Abbé Raynal says that if any had lost a hand, an arm, a leg, or a foot he received two hundred crowns. An eye, a finger, or a toe, lost in fight, was valued at only half the above sum.

² *Lives of Drake*, etc.

tion. This was about the time that Cromwell's expedition took possession of Jamaica. Thither a good many of the English rovers then went; and it was largely by their aid that two attempts to recover the island, made from San Domingo in 1657 and 1658, were utterly defeated. This timely assistance, and the knowledge that their presence would act as a deterrent upon the Spaniards, no doubt influenced Colonel D'Oyley, the first English Governor, in permitting them to make the island their chief place of resort. Possibly, also, he was not averse to this irregular warfare against Spain. But the traffic was one which, while it enriched the colony, depraved and demoralised it to a corresponding degree. It is recorded by Esquemelin, who spent much time among the buccaneers, that one of the Brotherhood used to delight in putting a pipe of wine in the streets of Port Royal, the capital of Jamaica, and then, with a pistol in his hand, compel every passer-by to drink with him.

Some of the adventures of the buccaneers almost exceed in boldness and daring anything that has come from the pen of the romancers. As an example of many similar deeds, two or three of the exploits of Captain Henry Morgan may be cited, as recorded in the Abbé Raynal's *History*. Morgan was the son of a Welsh farmer who went out in early life to settle in Barbadoes, but who, being forced into slavery, after some time escaped and joined the buccaneers. He was encouraged in his piratical expeditions by Colonel D'Oyley, who indirectly, if not openly, profited by them. In the summer of

1670, Morgan laid a plan to surprise Porto-Bello, near the Isthmus of Panama, and it was so well contrived that he took the city without opposition. In order to secure the fort with the same facility, he made the women and the priests fix the scaling ladders to the walls, persuaded that the gallantry and superstition of the Spaniards would never suffer them to fire at the persons they considered the objects of their greatest love and reverence. The garrison, however, seeing through this device, it became necessary to storm it, which they achieved; and the treasures that were carried away from this celebrated port were acquired at the expense of much bloodshed.

Out of the proceeds of this capture Morgan equipped a fleet four times as strong for an attack on Panama. On his way thither he surprised several smaller towns, and having taken a large quantity of warlike stores, steered his course towards the river Chagres, at the mouth of which there was a fort built upon a steep rock, which the waves of the sea constantly beat against. He was in considerable doubt whether he would be able to take this place, when by a lucky accident the Commander was killed, and the fort took fire, which enabled the besiegers to make themselves masters of the place.

Morgan left his vessels at anchor, with a sufficient number of men to guard them, and sailed up the river in his sloops for forty-three miles, till he came to Cruces, where it ceases to be navigable. He then proceeded by land to Panama, which was only five leagues distant. Upon a large and extensive plain



PORT ROYAL, JAMAICA.
(From an old print.)

that was before the city, he met a considerable body of troops, whom he put to flight with the greatest ease, and entered into the city that was now abandoned.

Here was found prodigious treasures concealed in the wells and caves. Some valuable commodities were taken upon the boats that were left aground at low water. In the neighbouring forests they also found several rich deposits. After burning Panama, they sailed away with a great number of prisoners, who were ransomed a few days after, and came to the mouth of the Chagres with a prodigious booty.

It is said that Morgan ended this exploit with an unheard of piece of treachery, sailing away, with the chief of his followers while the rest of the pirates were asleep, in a vessel which was laden with the spoils of the expedition, and taking refuge at Jamaica where he could not be pursued. After this he was obliged to turn his attention to more peaceful pursuits, England and Spain having in the meantime concluded a treaty of peace, and a new Governor—Lord John Vaughan—having been appointed who caused it to be strictly observed. Morgan accordingly settled down as a planter, until, falling into favour with Charles II., he was knighted and made Deputy-Governor of the island that had served him as a rendezvous from which to plan his piratical excursions.

The annals of Jamaica in those early days would not be complete without the story of the terrible retribution which fell upon it. “Jamaica,” says Montgomery Martin, “had at this time made mar-

vellous progress in respect to population and agricultural resources; but, in a moral point of view, its condition was truly deplorable. The strife, vice, and misery attendant on slavery became early manifest. The attempts of the wretched captives to regain their freedom, and the predatory incursions of the Maroons, even then scourged the colonists. Port Royal itself united to more than regal opulence the worst vices and the lowest depravity that ever disgraced a seaport; nor could anything else be expected in a city whose most honoured denizens were buccaneers, whose most welcome visitors were slave-traders.”¹ In the height of this terrible wickedness a doom fell upon it almost as fearful as that of Sodom and Gomorrah. In an instant, on the morning of June 7th, 1692, without the slightest warning, the city was destroyed by a cataclysm that rent the mountains in sunder and buried houses and streets fathoms deep beneath the waves of the sea. Whole settlements disappeared in different parts of the island and thousands of lives were lost. The earthquake was followed by a plague, caused by the shoals of putrescent corpses floating about the harbour, which carried off three thousand more. Then, as if to pile disaster on disaster, retribution on retribution, a hurricane in the following year swept over the newly rising town and destroyed a large part of the fresh erections.

¹ *The West Indies.*



CHAPTER VI.

PROGRESS OF COLONISATION IN AMERICA.

WHILE these things were going on in the New World, such was the growing uneasiness in the mother country, consequent upon the tyrannous leanings and practices of Charles I., that emigrants increased more and more. Some of the best in the land, seeing no prospect of the liberty so dear to the English heart, tore themselves from the beloved influences of their native land, and took refuge across the ocean, where, amid the ever-widening colonies, they hoped to build up a new home in which they might live secure from oppression. The number of persons thus expatriating themselves at length became so considerable that the government resolved to interfere, and a proclamation was issued prohibiting masters of vessels from carrying passengers to New England without special permission. Although the order was frequently disregarded, it sometimes had the effect of keeping at home persons who for Charles's, if not their country's good, it might have been well to allow to cast in their lot with the colonists. One such vessel, upon which

an embargo was laid when on the point of sailing, is said to have contained Oliver Cromwell, John Hampden, and Sir Arthur Haslerig, besides others holding views similar to theirs. Though there is some doubt as to the truth of the tradition, it is not at all improbable. Many in their rank of life had already emigrated; and that Hampden had some intention of so doing, if he did not actually start, is evidenced by the fact that he had purchased a tract of land in Connecticut. If these three were thus stopped, it adds another to the many curious cases on record in which a man's own evil deeds proved the means of providing a scourge for his own back.

It is needless to follow in detail the settlement and growth of all the colonies. There is a remarkable similarity in the record of most of them. Although the desire for religious freedom was not the mainspring in every case, it was generally a powerful concurrent influence. The most striking contrast to nearly all the other New England colonies is perhaps presented by the early history of Maine and New Hampshire. The names of two men, Sir Ferdinand Gorges and Captain John Mason, enter largely into the records of the development of these colonies. But prior to their appearance on the scene, the Plymouth Company had granted the whole of the region formerly held by the French, and named by them Acadia, to Sir William Alexander, a favourite of James I. This was in 1621. The territory was called Nova Scotia, and extended from Cape Sable to the St. Lawrence, including Cape Breton. Alexander's design was to people his pro-

vince with good Scottish Presbyterians. As an aid to his project, a special body of gentry, the baronets of Nova Scotia, was organised in 1626 by Charles I., each baronet receiving sixteen thousand acres of land, and being bound to send out six colonists. Some French who had been left there after the destruction of the settlement of Port Royal by Argall, Alexander drove out of the Peninsula. This done, he sent a French Protestant of Scottish origin, named Kirk, to take possession of Quebec. Ascending the St. Lawrence with a small fleet, he summoned Champlain to surrender. Champlain replied that "he was sure Kirk would respect him much more for defending himself, than for abandoning his charge without first making trial of the English guns and batteries," and that he would therefore await his attack. In the end—more from want of supplies than from any other cause, however—he was obliged to abandon the settlement, and for three years Quebec was in the hands of the English; only reverting to the French by the treaty of St. Germain (1633). With it was ceded all the disputed territory from Cape Breton, westward into the unknown interior. Thus Acadia, or New France, as it was also called, became peopled once more by French colonists, to be again wrenched from them after a hundred and fifty years.

When Alexander acquired his rights over Nova Scotia, the whole of the territory between his lands and the little Plymouth colony, which included all the east coast of Maine, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts, was still unoccupied; although traders were busy there, and many ships were engaged

carrying profitable cargoes to English ports. Gradually the Company began to recognise the value of their American possessions, and in 1622, Gorges, who was one of the chief members of the Company, obtained a grant of land for himself. He joined with him John Mason, another member of the Plymouth Company, who had been Governor of a plantation in Newfoundland. Their grant, which they named Laconia, embraced the region between the Merrimac and the Kennebec, and extended inland as far as Canada and the great lakes—a land of mountains, lakes, and valleys of the greatest beauty and fertility.

In 1623, Gorges and Mason sent over a ship-load of settlers, half fishermen, half planters, with the necessary tools and provisions to form a settlement. Landing at the mouth of the Piscataqua, they there divided into two parties, one of which laid the foundation of the New Hampshire town of Portsmouth. The other, proceeding a few miles up the river, formed a settlement which grew into the town of Dover. Two years afterwards, a couple of wealthy merchants of Bristol purchased Moneghan Island, and sent over an agent to settle there. A year later they acquired the point of Pamaquid, and there established a flourishing colony which, in four years' time, numbered eighty-four families. Some few years after this (in 1630) the Plymouth Council gave Richard Vines and John Oldham each a tract of land on the Saco River four miles broad on the sea, and extending eight miles inland. They founded on opposite sides of the river, the towns of Bidde-

ford and Saco, which formed the first beginning of regular settlements in Maine.

In 1629 Mason and Gorges divided their grant into two parts, the former taking all west of the Piscataqua, and naming it New Hampshire, and the latter all east of that stream to the Sagadahock. Gorges sent out settlers, and they laid the foundation of York. In 1635 the Plymouth Council Company was dissolved, and the lands parcelled out among its members. In this new division Gorges's right was confirmed to the land lying between the Piscataqua and the Kennebec, with a sea-coast of sixty miles and an extent of one hundred and twenty miles inland; and now for the first time he called this his "Province of Maine."

Such was the condition of things in the districts of Maine and New Hampshire when the famous Antinomian controversy broke out in Massachusetts. Traders had established themselves here and there along the coast, and here and there were the beginnings of small townships; but very little progress was made until the Rev. W. Wheelwright, the brother-in-law of Mrs. Hutchinson, suffering banishment with her, made his way with a number of adherents to New Hampshire, where, in 1629, he had been one of a number of settlers who bought land of the Indians. They now settled upon the land thus acquired, and, in 1638, built the town of Exeter.

Whatever may have been the faults of these Puritan colonists, there is one thing that must be said to their credit. They were as good at forming con-

stitutions and making laws as at building towns. No sooner did a little clutch of them settle down together on a piece of land than they formed themselves into a body politic, chose rulers and assistants, convened a popular assembly, and worked out a code of laws. It is rare that anything like anarchy is seen among them--at least if allowed to follow out their own instinct for government. But they could not be dragooned or forced against their will to do anything. In this respect they manifested some of the best qualities of the Anglo-Saxon people. One of their faults was perhaps a leaning towards too much law-making. Still the laws they framed they were willing to obey. If they found they could not, up came their stakes, and away they went with cattle and household gear some days' journey into the wilderness, and there cut out a new home and a new sanctuary for themselves. Anything is possible to such men. We find them making many mistakes; but what they do not know to-day they learn to-morrow. And with every man a law to himself, the building of a nation is a small matter.

The example of the men of Exeter gave an impulse to the towns of Dover, Portsmouth, and Hampton, all on the Piscataqua, all self-governed, and all anxious for supremacy. In the end Massachusetts claimed jurisdiction over New Hampshire, as being included in the charter of that colony, as well as over Maine, where towns began to rise along the shore. Objections were raised in both cases; but in the end Massachusetts prevailed, and for a time

both provinces were ruled from Boston. It was not until after the Revolution that the constitutions of Maine and New Hampshire were reduced into a regular and permanent form. Of all the English colonies in America, none suffered so much from the Indians as New Hampshire. From its earliest settlement the husbandmen were murdered, and their wives and children carried into captivity, with terrible frequency.¹

It remains to speak briefly of the other colonies. New York and New Jersey were first colonised by the Dutch, who claimed this part of the American mainland in virtue of its discovery by Henry Hudson, an Englishman in the employ of the Dutch East India Company, who sailed up the river, afterwards called by his name, a little beyond the site of the present city of Albany. This distinguished seaman afterwards made a voyage to the northern coasts of America, and explored a considerable portion of the great inland sea which bears his name.

The Dutch established a trading port on the island of Manhattan, which they called New Amsterdam, but which under the English became New York, and gradually pushed their way into the interior, erecting forts here and there for the convenience of trade. As we have seen, Argall compelled the first rude settlement to acknowledge the supremacy of the Governor of Virginia. This submission, however, appears to have been only in name. For several years the little community increased steadily in numbers, and in the diligence

¹ *Popular History of America.*



A The Fort,
 B Church of St. Nicholas.
 C The Jail.
 D Governor's House.

NEW AMSTERDAM AS IT APPEARED ABOUT THE YEAR 1640.

E The Gallows.
 F The Pillory.
 G West India Comp's Stores.
 H The Tavern.

(From *Historic New York*.)

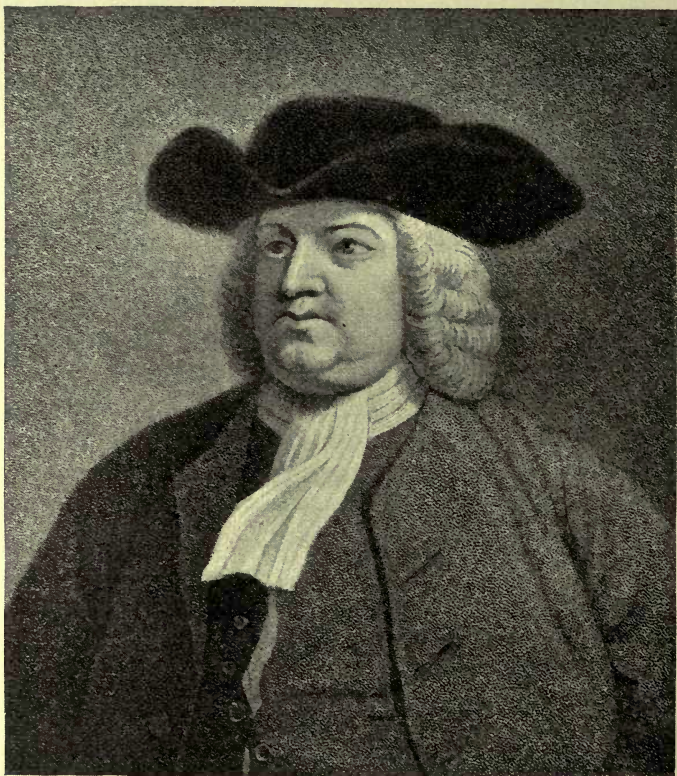
with which they pursued the ends of commerce. The mother country at last began to notice the sturdy little colony, and to see the possibility of making it a source of future wealth and power. Accordingly, the West India Company of Holland was formed, with the object of developing the trade of the Atlantic coasts of Africa and America. This was in 1620. Nine years later a Governor was sent out to take charge of the thriving colony, to which was given the name of New Netherlands. But in 1664, Charles II., who hated the Dutch on account of the insults to which he had been subjected during his exile in Holland, granted to his brother, the Duke of York, the whole of the country extending from the Connecticut to the Delaware, with the power of civil and military government. Colonel Nicolls, with a sufficient naval and military force, was sent out to carry the grant into effect; and the Dutch, not caring apparently to fight for the matter of a name only, yielded without a struggle. During the war with the Dutch, which broke out in 1666, a visit was expected from De Ruyter, who was reported to be on his way to enforce the restitution of New York. But the Dutch Admiral had his hands full elsewhere.

At the peace of Breda the American colony was formally ceded to England in exchange for Surinam. The colony continued to grow in numbers and prosperity under Governors Nicolls and Lovelace until 1672, when England, or rather Charles II., again went to war with Holland—a war which was commenced by an act of treachery instigated

by the King, and which, though it brought out the usual qualities in English seamen, added more to the national honour of Holland than to that of Great Britain. A Dutch squadron was soon upon the American coast, destroying what shipping could be laid hold of. New York was surprised and compelled to surrender; but by the peace of the following year (1674) it was restored to the English. The grant to the Duke of York was renewed, and for nearly twenty years the colony was governed according to the will of his deputies. In 1682 the Duke admitted the people to a share in the legislative power—a concession which he refused to ratify when he became King; and the colony was governed as a conquered province until the accession of William and Mary, when it was granted a legislative Assembly, and a law was passed declaring all the rights of Englishmen to belong to the colonists.

The settlement of New Jersey, in which William Penn had acquired some property, caused that celebrated Quaker to take a deep interest in the American colonies, which soon suggested an idea similar to that which, under Lord Baltimore, had led to the colonisation of Maryland. Why not, he asked himself, found a home over the seas for the persecuted followers of George Fox? His influence at Court and the friendship of the Duke of York emboldened Penn to attempt the carrying out this design. His father had at different times advanced large sums to the government of Charles II. The total of these loans amounted to some sixteen thousand pounds, and in lieu of repayment Penn proposed

that Charles should grant him a tract of land in America, at present unsettled, lying to the north of Maryland, bounded on the east by the Delaware,



WILLIAM PENN.

extending as far west as Maryland, and as far north as plantable. His proposition was acceded to, and he received, "on the fealty of two beaver skins

annually,"¹ a charter wherein it was declared, "that no custom or other contribution shall be laid upon the inhabitants or their estates unless by the consent of the proprietary, or Governor and Assembly, or by act of Parliament in England." Penn was empowered to assemble the freemen or their delegates, in such form as he should think fit, for raising money for the use of the colony, and for making useful laws, not contrary to the laws of England, or to the rights of the kingdom. This charter was granted in 1680, and in the following year three commissioners were sent out to make preliminary arrangements with the Indians, to whom Penn decided to give compensation for the land of which he took possession. Unfortunately for his reputation the Quaker coloniser did not always act up to this high principle of equity. In other instances he shewed himself by no means scrupulous about the rights of others, provided he could further his own interests by ignoring them. Through his influence with the Duke of York, he was successful in obtaining a grant of the Delaware colony, originally formed by the Swedes, and afterwards taken by the Dutch, although both he and the Duke were perfectly cognisant of the fact that Lord Baltimore had a legal claim to that district. He thus acquired the town of Newcastle, with a territory of twelve miles round, besides a tract of land extending southward on the Delaware to Cape Henlopen.

This act of injustice caused much trouble to the new colony. Lord Baltimore would not relinquish

¹ *Popular History of America.*

his rights, and on the accession of James II. the disputed territory was divided between the two claimants. But this did not bring peace to the two provinces; friction and disunion continued to exist until in the end, after a period of separate Assemblies, under a joint Governor, they were declared separate colonies.

Otherwise, however, Penn's Sylvania, as it was at first thought to call it, prospered greatly. Emigrants arrived in large numbers, attracted by the ease with which they acquired land, and by the real religious liberty and freedom from superstition to be enjoyed in the colony. The settlers were chiefly Quakers, although many others availed themselves of this refuge for the oppressed. In 1695 the number of inhabitants was reckoned at twenty thousand, exclusive of negro slaves, of whose enforced labour the Quakers were not so pious as to deny themselves. It is to their credit, however, that they did something to ameliorate their condition. But it is to the German emigrants that is due the honour of being the first to protest against negro slavery. In consequence of their protest a resolution was passed at the annual meeting of Friends at Burlington in 1688, declaring it morally wrong to hold slaves.¹ Twenty years later the public conscience had become so far in accord on the subject that "a large majority set their slaves free, and refused to be considered members of the same body with any who held another man in bondage."²

¹ Graham, *History of North America*.

² *A Popular History of America*.

But notwithstanding their many fine qualities, the Quakers proved a difficult people to govern. For long years the history of the colony is one endless record of petty squabbles and contemptible evasions. Though they held the impracticable doctrine that defensive war was ungodly, they had no objection to being protected by the arms of others ; yet while they consented to pay a subsidy of three hundred pounds towards the fortification of New York, they salved their conscience by the petty artifice of pretending that it was “ for the relief of the distressed Indians on the frontiers of the province.” Their worst fault, however, was their base ingratitude to Penn, who, cheated out of his quit-rents, and refused the imposts his people had solemnly promised him, reaped nothing from his colony but sorrow, disquiet, and poverty, and finally died in ignorance of their tardy repentance.





CHAPTER VII.

MAKING US A NATION IN INDIA.

DURING the civil broils, and the consequent unsettled state of the country, the foreign commerce of England, which had greatly increased during the peaceable period of Charles I.'s reign, suffered a considerable diminution. Home trade and industry also decreased to some extent; but the greatest falling off in regard to commercial activity appears to have been in the East, where the Dutch took advantage of our intestine troubles to push their fortune at the cost of the British East India Company, which during those years sunk into comparative insignificance. But at the close of that disastrous period, Cromwell reconfirmed its privileges and gave every encouragement to its trade.

One of the earliest effects of this improved state of things was the obtaining in Bengal of the first of those peculiar privileges which the English made use of as the stepping-stones to subsequent power. This was acquired (in 1651-52) through the influence of a surgeon in the employ of the Company named Boughton, who, having performed a skilful cure on

one of the household of Shah Jehan, the grandson and successor of Jehanghire, was in great favour at his court. Using his interest in furthering the views of the Company, he procured the concession for a new settlement at Hugli, situated on the branch of the Ganges of that name, and a licence for an unlimited trade, without payment of customs, in the richest province in India. A couple of years later another step was taken in the direction of that gradual strengthening of their foothold on the continent which soon appeared to have become the predestined sphere of the English in that region. This was the elevation of Fort St. George into a presidency, thus concentrating the business of the Coromandel coast, which had hitherto been dependent on the distant settlement of Bantam.

During the internecine troubles in England the Dutch had manifested such an arrogant and oppressive spirit, and had pushed their commercial policy with so flagrant a disregard for the interests of their English allies, that both country and Parliament were now eager to lower their pride, and at the same time to revive the trade of the country, which had fallen to a very low ebb. Besides the fact that Cromwell owed the Dutch a grudge for protecting the Stuarts, there was a strong case against them for not having yet settled the affair of Amboyna; and with the view, it would seem, of provoking a quarrel, a stringent Navigation Act was passed, prohibiting the importation in foreign vessels of any other products except those of the country to which they belonged. This was intended as a death-blow

to the carrying trade, from which the Dutch mainly drew their wealth. What further exasperated the States was the granting of letters of reprisal to several merchants, who complained of injuries suffered from the Dutch, with the result that above eighty Dutch ships fell into their hands and were made prizes.¹

While these irritating measures were still under discussion, both nations were busily preparing for a war which had now become inevitable. An incident of a seemingly trivial nature precipitated hostilities. In accordance with an old-established custom, the English claimed salutes from all vessels coming up the Channel. The Dutch had of late demurred, alleging in excuse that the former respect paid to the English flag was an act of deference due only to the monarchy. The English, however, monarchy or no monarchy, would hear of no abatement of their rights; and Van Tromp, the Dutch Admiral, with a fleet of forty-two sail, being forced by stress of weather to take refuge in Dover roads, was met there by Admiral Blake, who summoned him to strike his flag. The Dutchman answered with a broadside. Blake, as fiery a spirit as he, retaliated in kind, and though his squadron numbered only fifteen vessels, reinforced after the battle began by eight others under Captain Bourne, maintained the fight with the utmost bravery for five hours, sinking one of the enemy's ships and taking another. Night parted the combatants, and the Dutch fleet retired towards the coast of Holland.

The States-General, anxious to avoid war, sug-

¹ Hume.

gested a commission to inquire into the cause of the breach of the peace, Van Tromp affirming that Blake



DEFEAT OF THE DUTCH BY ADMIRAL BLAKE (1653).

(From an old print.)

was the first to commence hostilities. Parliament, however, was in no mood to listen to reasons or re-

monstrances, but demanded instant reparation of the damages which the English had sustained; and when that was not forthcoming, at once set the navy in motion. The war which ensued was one of giants. Blake, sailing north, fell upon the Dutch herring fleet, which was protected by twelve men-of-war, and either took or dispersed the lot. Van Tromp followed him with a fleet of upwards of a hundred sail. But as the two were about to engage, a terrific storm came on and separated them, the Dutch receiving much damage.

In the Channel, near Plymouth, Sir George Ayscue and De Ruyter met and fought with the utmost determination until parted by night. In the morning the Dutch Admiral got away with his convoy of thirty merchantmen, while Ayscue's squadron was so shattered that he was unable to go in pursuit. Though De Ruyter had more ships than the English, they are said to have been inferior in force. Not long after this action, De Ruyter and De Witte encountered Blake off the Kentish coast, and received a severe drubbing, four of their vessels being either taken or destroyed, and the remainder compelled to retire under cover of night. These reverses, however, only served to rouse the spirit of the Dutch, and very soon their fleet, increased to seventy-three sail, and placed under the command of the veteran Van Tromp, was once more in the Channel. Falling in with Blake near the Goodwins, they offered him battle. Though he had only half their number of ships, the English Admiral accepted the challenge. A furious battle ensued, which only

ended with nightfall, when the English squadron, terribly shattered, withdrew into the Thames, with the loss of five ships. Van Tromp was so elated



ADMIRAL VAN TROMP.

with his victory that he nailed a broom to his mast-head and lorded it cock-a-hoop through the Channel. But the end was not yet. A few months of strenu-

ous preparation in England sent Blake to sea again (February, 1653) with a fleet of eighty sail. He had Dean and Monk under him, both sea-dogs of the finest British grit. Lying off Portland, the English at daybreak descried a Dutch fleet of seventy-six men-of-war making its way up Channel, with a convoy of three hundred merchant vessels. Van Tromp and De Ruyter were in command. The rival forces at once engaged, and the battle that befell was continued with the most undaunted courage and obstinacy on both sides for three days. It ended in a victory for Blake; but the honour he won was hardly greater than that of Van Tromp, who, though worsted, made so skilful a retreat that he saved all the convoy he was guarding except thirty. He lost, however, eleven ships of war, had two thousand men slain, and nearly fifteen hundred taken prisoners. The English list of killed was nearly as great; and though they lost but one vessel, many of their ships were badly shattered.

“All the successes of the English,” says Hume, “were chiefly owing to the superior size of their vessels; an advantage which all the skill and bravery of the Dutch admirals could not compensate. By means of ship-money, an inquisition which had been so much complained of, and in some respects with reason, the late King had put the navy into a situation which it had never attained in any former reign; and he ventured to build ships of a size which was then unusual.”

Great as was the loss and damage sustained by the Dutch in battle, they were as nothing com-

pared with what was suffered in respect to the injury done to their commerce; yet so determined were they to maintain the superiority at sea for which they had made such strenuous endeavours during the troubles in England, that, within a short period after their late defeat, they were again ready to try conclusions with the English under Monk and Dean. The two fleets met near the coast of Flanders; and after a furious fight lasting two days, in the first of which Dean was killed, Van Tromp was obliged, with great loss, to take refuge in the harbours of Holland. Blake, towards the end of the contest, had joined his countrymen with a reinforcement of eighteen sail. The English then so completely blockaded the enemy's ports as to put an entire stop to all commerce. This state of things so galled the little Republic that in a few weeks the Hollanders had repaired and refitted their fleet, adding thereto some ships of larger size than their navy had before possessed, and with unabated courage issued forth to try conclusions with the victors.

Again the battle joined, the Dutch almost out-doing their former selves in their effort to demolish their enemy; but, unfortunately for their hopes, Van Tromp fell, pierced to the heart with a musket-ball, just as he had succeeded in forcing the English line. His death decided the contest, nothing that De Ruyter could do being of any avail to change the fortunes of the day. Though they lost well-nigh thirty ships, the Dutch appear to have regarded this as of small consequence in comparison with the demise of their gallant Admiral.

The States-General, greatly alarmed by their repeated defeats and losses, were now anxious to bring



GENERAL GEORGE MONK.

the war to a close, and Cromwell, being about the same time appointed Protector, had no wish to prolong the contest, provided they were ready to meet

his demands. This the States did, and peace was signed; the Dutch yielding the honour of the flag to England, agreeing to punish those concerned in the massacre of Amboyna, if still living, and further stipulating that eighty-five thousand pounds should be paid by the Dutch East India Company for losses which the English Company had sustained.

The war with Holland had no sooner terminated than the Protector began to meditate on fresh employment for his victorious navy. Spain, shorn of Portugal, which now rebelled and placed a Braganza on the throne, and otherwise crippled, had been reduced to a state of the greatest weakness, notwithstanding her extensive possessions in the West; and Cromwell thought it would be doing a stroke for heaven as well as for England if he could still further reduce the sources of her wealth. But he had other objects in view as well as this when (in 1655) he equipped two considerable squadrons, and, to the consternation of Europe, despatched them on secret missions. One of the squadrons, consisting of thirty first-rate men-of-war, was sent to the Mediterranean under the command of Blake. No English fleet since the Crusades had sailed in those waters,¹ and as there was no force, Christian or Mahomedan, able to cope with it, the greatest consternation prevailed. Dropping anchor first of all before Leghorn, Blake exacted reparation from the Duke of Tuscany for injuries done to English commerce. He then bombarded Algiers and destroyed the fleet with which its piratical subjects had ventured during the

¹ Hume.

reign of Charles I. to vex English interests at sea. His next excursion was to Tunis, whose Dey, in answer to a similar demand, pointed to his castles of Porto Farino and Goletta, and bade him do his



ADMIRAL BLAKE.

worst. Blake, whose blood hardly needed rousing by such a bravado, immediately drew up his ships close to those fortifications and speedily knocked them about the ears of their inmates. That done, he sent his long-boats into the harbour, and set fire

to every ship that lay there. The tyrannical rulers of the Mediterranean had bad dreams for some time after that exploit, and the fame of English valour resounded through all the sea.

The other squadron, which was commanded by Admiral Penn, and carried four thousand soldiers, under General Venables, was, as we already know, destined for the West Indies, where, though it failed in its primary object, it succeeded in capturing the island of Jamaica. As soon as the news of this expedition, which was an unpardonable breach of treaty rights, became known, Spain declared war against England, and everything—ships as well as goods—was seized that could be laid hands on. Blake now bestirred himself to commence hostilities against the enemy, and lay for some time off Cadiz, in the hope of intercepting the plate-fleet, but was at length obliged, for want of water, to proceed to Portugal. Soon after he had gone, Captain Stayner, whom he left on the coast with seven ships, sighted the galleons, and immediately gave chase. The Spanish Admiral ran his ship ashore, and was followed by two others. Two galleons were taken, whose value was placed at near two million pieces of eight. To complete the dismay of the Spaniards, two other galleons were set on fire. A most pitiful incident is recorded in connection with this action. On one of the vessels which became a prey to the flames was the Marquis of Badajoz, Viceroy of Peru, with his wife and their daughter, who was on her way home to be married to the young Duke of Medina Celi. All three lost their lives. The Marquis himself might

have escaped ; but, seeing both those objects of his love and care fall into a swoon, through terror of the danger by which they were surrounded, and perish in the flames, he chose rather to die with them than drag out a life embittered by such tragic recollections.

Shortly after this, Blake, hearing that a Spanish fleet of sixteen sail, much richer than the last, had taken refuge in the Canary Isles, immediately proceeded thither. He found them in the bay of Santa Cruz, into which, though defended by a strong castle and seven forts joined together by walls, he at once sailed with a favourable wind, and after a fight of four hours, compelled the Spaniards to abandon their ships, which were set on fire, and consumed with all their treasure. The English now found themselves in a most dangerous position, exposed to the fire of the castle and the forts, which might very soon have made short work of them ; but, to their extreme good fortune, the wind suddenly shifted and carried them safely out of the bay, leaving the enemy astonished alike at their luck and their temerity.

The gallant spirit that planned and executed this daring enterprise did not live to emulate his own glory in another fight. He died, consumed with dropsy and scurvy, within sight of the land he loved so well, and for which he had fought so hard, but upon whose shores he was not destined again to set his foot. It was the boast of Cromwell that he would make the name of England as much feared and honoured as that of Rome. He succeeded in

his aim; but by none was he seconded in his effort so nobly as by Blake, the sturdiest Roman of them all.

Although Cromwell's war with Holland ended so favourably to the English in Europe, it proved extremely injurious to the interests of the Company in India. A squadron of eight Dutch ships appeared off Swally in 1653-54, which put a complete stop to the English trade at Surat. Indeed, nearly the whole of their business on the coast of India, as well as at Bantam, was, for the time being, suspended, in consequence of the superior naval power of the Netherlands in those seas.

After the peace, matters did not mend much for some time. The Company were subject to the competition of a rival association of merchant adventurers, as well as to that of the Dutch; but in 1658 the two bodies, seeing that they were only injuring each other as rivals, agreed to combine. Still, however, the Company did not thrive, and shortly before the death of Cromwell it was decided to relinquish many of their out-stations, and to limit their trade on the mainland to the presidencies of Surat and Fort St. George.

With the accession of Charles II. matters began to improve. A new charter was granted them (April 3, 1661), and with it new and enlarged powers. The Company were vested with the authority to make peace and war with any prince and people, not being Christian; and to seize unlicenced persons within their limits, and send them to England.¹

¹ Bruce.

These privileges, with the right of administering justice, conferred upon the directors and their servants all the powers of government.



ADMIRAL DE RUYTER.

During these years of struggle and obscurity many events occurred which were of importance to the

growing Company, but to which it is needless to refer here. The island of Bombay was ceded to the King as part of the dowry of Catherine of Braganza, and some years later it was granted by Charles to the Company, as was also, soon after, the island of St. Helena. In the meanwhile hostilities had again broken out between England and Holland; whereupon the Dutch hastened to reoccupy the island of Poleroon, which had been restored to the Company after the last war. Some Dutch stations on the west coast of Africa had been seized by English ships. De Ruyter retaliated, expelling the English from the settlements they had taken, except Cape Corse, as well as from some old ones. Sailing thence to America, he attacked Barbadoes, though unsuccessfully, and afterwards committed some hostilities on Long Island.

Up to this time war had not been declared; but this followed as soon as Charles received news of De Ruyter's doings. All the Stuarts took good care of the navy, and Charles was able to enter into the conflict with a fleet of a hundred and fourteen sail, "besides fire-ships and ketches," served by twenty-two thousand men. The Mynheers, with a nearly equal force, were met off Lowestoft. An obstinate battle ensued, the result of which was uncertain until the Dutch Admiral's ship blew up while engaged in close fight with the Duke of York, who commanded on the English side. Discouraged by this accident, the Hollanders fled towards their own coast, with the loss of nineteen sail.

One of the most obstinate sea-fights which our

annals record took place next year—that year ever memorable for the fire of London, following after the year of plague—when Monk, with fifty-four sail, engaged De Ruyter, with a fleet of seventy-six ships, off the North Foreland. Monk, underrating the enemy, had detached a squadron of twenty sail, under Prince Rupert, to watch the French fleet, which was endeavouring to join the Dutch. After two days of the most obstinate fighting, the English were only saved from annihilation by the timely arrival of Prince Rupert. Resuming the fight on the fourth day, the combatants contended for the victory with unyielding courage and determination, and were only separated at last by a dense fog. Though the English were the first to retire into their harbours, the victory claimed by the Dutch was not decisive. A third battle, as fiercely contested as the others, ended in an undoubted triumph for the English, whose fleet, sailing along the coast of Holland, played sad havoc with the enemy's towns and shipping.

The Dutch, however, as unconquerable as their foes, were soon ready with another fleet; but when they met Prince Rupert with a force stronger than ever, they declined the combat, and took shelter in the roads near Boulogne. From there, with sickness in their ships, they were recalled to their harbours. Negotiations for peace were now commenced; but while the terms were still under discussion, the Dutch sallied from their ports, and, taking England at unawares, advanced unopposed up the Thames to Gravesend, forced the boom that



ENGAGEMENT BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND DUTCH FLEETS, OFF THE NORTH FORELAND, SEPTEMBER 28, 1652.

(From an engraving by J. Pass.)

protected the Medway, burned three men-of-war lying at anchor in the river, and, after doing other damage, withdrew, only "to sail proudly along the coast, the masters of the Channel."¹ The treaty of Breda temporarily settled the differences between the two countries.

During the brief quarrel with France, the Company were inconvenienced by the added hostility of the French East India Company, which had been established by the minister Colbert in 1664. Though as yet in its infancy, this Company was soon to become a formidable rival to the English in the East, and to spur them forward in the career of conquest at a speed which they would not perhaps otherwise have attained.

Notwithstanding all the difficulties the Company had to contend with, however, the base of their operations was enlarged from year to year, and they became more and more a power in the East. Trade was carried on with a considerable part of the Indian empire, through the Company's stations on the eastern and western coasts; although it was subject to frequent interruptions from the hostility of the native rulers, fomented in some instances by the Portuguese and Dutch, but in others occasioned by the indiscretions of the Company's own agents. The ceaseless wars of the native princes amongst themselves encouraged the English to profit by their dissensions whenever they could, and so frequently to substitute offensive for defensive operations. This change in their policy was made the

¹ Green.



THE DUTCH FLEET IN THE MEDWAY.
(Redrawn from an old woodcut.)

more easy from a still further extension of power with which they were, in 1685, invested. Under the favour of Government which they now enjoyed, the Company obtained the powers of Admiralty jurisdiction, for the purpose of seizing and condemning, safe from the review of the courts of municipal law in England, the ships of trespassers on their monopoly, or interlopers, as they were called. Thus, by gradual steps, the Company acquired unlimited power over their people in India.¹

From the commencement of their settlement in Bengal, the English had met with less favour from the native powers than in any other part of India; and in 1685 it was resolved to seek redress by military force. In the following year Captain Nicholson was sent out with ten armed vessels and seven companies of soldiers to seize Chittagong and make it a stronghold for future use, and to carry on such hostilities against the Nawab of Bengal, as would compel him, or the Mogul, whom he represented, to grant reparation for the injury the Company had sustained. The following year the directors, with the consent of the King, sent out a whole regiment with a view to the same object. But in some way matters were mismanaged; hostilities were precipitated before the English forces were ready; and they were obliged to retire from Hugli, and take shelter at Chutanuttee, afterwards Calcutta. To make matters worse, Nicholson failed to take Chittagong, and the Nawab, in retaliation, seized and plundered the Company's factories at Patna and

¹ Mill.

Cossimbuzar. In September, 1667, an understanding was arrived at, and the English were allowed to return to Hugli. The Company, however, were so little satisfied with the state of affairs that they sent out a large ship, the *Defence*, with a frigate, under the command of Captain Heath, whose instructions appear to have been to carry on the war. The Company's agents had in the meantime made considerable progress towards the peaceful recovery of their old ground, when Heath foolishly reopened hostilities, took and looted the town of Balasor, and, proceeding thence to Chittagong, found himself unable to reduce it. The result was that Bengal had to be abandoned.

These proceedings on the part of the Company, together with doings equally rash on the western side of India, so irritated Aurengzebe, the successor of Shah Jehan, and one of the most powerful of the Mogul rulers, that he determined to expel the English from his dominions. Nor did he come far short of carrying out his threat. The factories at Surat, Masulipatam, and Vizagapatam were seized, the agent and his servants at the last-named place put to death, and the island of Bombay laid siege to and partly taken by a hostile fleet. There is no telling what might have been the result had not the Mogul treasury felt the need of the fertilising showers of the English trade. This circumstance, and the consciousness of his superior strength, disposed Aurengzebe to an accommodation, and ere long the English found themselves re-established at Surat, as well as at most of their other stations.

During these troubles the French had improved their footing in India, having established themselves at Pondicherry, which they were now fortifying; while, at the same time, they were busily ingratiating themselves with such of the native princes as were most hostile to the English. The presence and the intrigues of the French had the effect of putting a spur to the endeavours of the Company for the acquisition of such an extension of territory, by one means or another, as would render them independent alike of the Mogul and his feudatories. "The truth is," says Sir John Malcolm,¹ "that, from the day on which the Company's troops marched one mile from their factories, the increase of their territories and their armies became a principle of self-preservation; and at the end of every one of these numerous contests in which they were involved by the jealousy, avarice, or ambition of their neighbours, or the rapacity or ambition of their own servants, they were forced to adopt measures for improving their strength, which soon appeared to be the only mode by which they could avert the occurrence of similar danger."

In pursuance of this policy, we find the directors, as early as 1689, laying down the principle that an independent position must be established in India, and dominion acquired. "The increase of our revenue is the subject of our care, as much as our trade; 't is that must maintain our force when twenty accidents may interrupt our trade; 't is that must make us a nation in India."

¹ *Sketch of the Political History of India.*

An opportunity of putting this policy into operation soon occurred; Tegnapatam, a town and port on the Coromandel coast, a little to the south of Pondicherry, being acquired by purchase, and, after being strengthened by a wall and bulwarks, was named Fort St. David. Other important acquisitions promptly followed. Azim Ooshaun, the son of Aurengzebe, who had been made Nawab of Bengal, entertained the design of dethroning his father. But he needed money to carry out his purposes; and so for a large sum he sold to the Company the Zemindarships of Chutanuttee, Govindpore, and Calcutta, the last-named place to become, some years later, when Fort William had been built, and a town had grown up under its protection, the seat of a presidency, and the future capital of the British Empire in the East.

In the meantime the Company were doing all they could to put down the free-trader, while he, on his part, missed no opportunity of bringing the Company's monopoly into discredit. Certain of these interlopers had been seized and tried as pirates, and the scandal had become so great that the matter was at length brought before the House of Commons, when a resolution was adopted to the effect that Parliament should interfere and determine whatever regulations might be deemed necessary for the trade with India. Nevertheless, a new charter was granted the same year (1693), and the interlopers continued to be dealt with as before. The House of Commons then resolved, "That it was the right of all Englishmen to trade to the East Indies, or any part

of the world, unless prohibited by Act of Parliament."

Bribery was the all-potent instrument in those days. The old Company had employed it to procure the renewal of their charter; and the interlopers now resorted to the same means to bring the Company's Royal charter under the cognisance of Parliament, and to get it set aside for use in their own favour. The interlopers, in fact, outbid the old Company, and obtained by Parliamentary bill the exclusive right of trade with the East Indies, all the protests of the Company notwithstanding. The old Company, however, were successful in securing a confirmation of their charter the following season, and thus the country beheld itself the happy possessor of two East India Companies instead of one.

Nothing could be more injurious to trade or more destructive to British influence than the conduct which the rival Companies pursued both at home and in the East. In England they resorted openly to bribery and corruption, in India to mutual detraction and oppression. Fortunately, both Companies soon became aware of the ruinous nature of their proceedings, and agreed to an amalgamation of their interests. This took place on the 22d of July, 1702, the two bodies henceforth taking the name of "The United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies." Not for some time, however, were their ingrained animosities overcome, and a feeling of common interest established. But at length, in 1708, a new and more favourable bill was passed through Parliament, in which, in return for

a fresh loan to Government, their privileges were both extended and consolidated ; and thus, after a century of struggle and contention, " John Company " found itself in a position to continue the work of building up an empire in India upon foundations the insignificant beginnings of which had already been laid.





CHAPTER VIII.

GROWTH UNDER THE STUARTS.

NOTWITHSTANDING all the efforts of Charles I. and his Ministers to put a stop to the rush of emigration to the New England settlements, the condition of things in England continued to give cause for so much disquiet that the number of persons expatriating themselves for the sake of conscience or liberty increased rather than diminished. Incensed by this disregard of his commands, Charles had recourse to one of those acts to enforce his authority, the accumulation and continued reiteration of which at length wore out the patience of his people. A writ of *quo warranto* was issued against the Company of Massachusetts Bay; and, it having been found that the colonists had in many instances gone beyond the terms of their charter, judgment was unhesitatingly given against them. They were found to have forfeited all their rights as a corporation; and these, in consequence, reverting to the Crown, the King took in hand the remodelling of the constitution of the colony, and giving the administration of its affairs into other hands. His

intention, however, was not carried into effect. The elements of storm, which his unjustifiable acts had gradually gathered to a head, now burst forth with such violence that for the remainder of his unhappy reign his hands were too full of more urgent matters for him to give time and thought to a disobedient colony three thousand miles away.

During the troubles which led to the death of the King, and which it is not necessary to dwell upon here, the causes that had sent so many people to New England had ceased to operate, and hence in those years the number of emigrants was comparatively small. But though the change of Government in England greatly diminished the rush of emigrants to America, it did not check the volume of trade between the colonists and the mother country, but, on the contrary, tended very much in the opposite direction. To show their good feeling towards the colonists, and doubtless, also, with a view to secure their favourable opinion and support, the House of Commons, in 1642, passed a vote exempting the different settlements of New England from payment of any duties upon merchandise, whether exported or imported, until otherwise ordered. This exemption was afterwards confirmed by both Houses. Encouraged by these privileges, trade and industry in the New England settlements made rapid progress, and population naturally grew with the increasing prosperity.

In the meanwhile the New Englanders had taken a step which was not only another remarkable exemplification of their genius for self-government,

but was also a prophetic foreshadowing of the nation into which they were destined to grow. Although the war with the Pequods had ended in the annihilation of that people, it had left behind a feeling of general insecurity, which the unsettled state of affairs in Europe did not tend to allay. Under these circumstances it was thought desirable to make some arrangements for self-defence, and accordingly, in 1643, the colonists of Plymouth, Massachusetts, and Newhaven, Connecticut, entered into "a league of perpetual confederacy, offensive and defensive,"¹ for preserving and propagating the truth and liberties of the Gospel, and for their mutual defence. The idea was, of course, an imitation of the federal union obtaining between the provinces of Holland, with whose working many of the colonists, from long residence at Amsterdam and Leyden, were naturally familiar. It was agreed that the confederates should assume the name of the United Colonies of New England; that they should remain separate and distinct, each retaining exclusive jurisdiction within its own territory; that each member of the union should bear its due share of the burdens and expenses of any just war; that for the management of their common affairs two commissioners should be chosen by each; that they should meet annually, or oftener if need be; and that they should have the power to determine on matters of peace and war, and all things touching the general interest.

It is curious to note that Rhode Island, New

¹ Robertson.

Hampshire, and Maine were excluded from the league on account of their heresy. One is constantly reminded in this way of the narrow-mindedness and bigotry of the men who had wrought so much and so greatly. By their first act as a united body, in giving up the chief of the Narragansetts, who had been one of their best friends, to his mortal enemy, to be murdered in cold blood, they covered themselves with undying disgrace. But the same indelible stain runs through their annals for years. They form one long record of religious intolerance, tyranny, injustice, and ignorance, the most abysmal and disgusting: as witness the hanging of a poor old woman in 1648 for witchcraft, on a charge of "malignant touch."

Unfavourable reports of the general condition of things in Massachusetts caused Parliament, in 1651, to send a requisition to the colony to resign its charter and receive a new one. Massachusetts, friendly and favourable as she was to the Commonwealth, failed to see the wisdom of putting herself blindly into the hands of Parliament, and humbly and respectfully urged the needlessness of a change. Cromwell appears to have taken the representation in good part, and the colony was left "with all the freedom and latitude" to which it might be disposed to lay claim.

But a check upon its unrestrained course came with the Restoration. Though the Assembly protested that the Navigation Act, with which Cromwell had not troubled them, was an infringement of the rights of the colony, Massachusetts was ad-

judged to bear her share of its injustice. Furthermore, in consequence of the complaints that had reached him respecting her persecutions, Charles II. made the confirmation of her charter dependent on freedom being granted for the use of the Book of Common Prayer, and on freeholders, "not vicious," being allowed to vote, even though not of the religion of the predominant sect. Exception was made in regard to the Quakers only, that most harmless and forbearing of all sects, who had, nevertheless, been persecuted to the length of torture and death—and by these sticklers for the liberty of conscience. Commissioners were sent out to hear and redress grievances; but though some of the colonies received them and recognised their authority, Massachusetts utterly repudiated them and their commission, and would have nothing to do with them. This recalcitrancy offended the King; and it was deemed necessary that something should be done to bring Massachusetts to reason. Neither Charles nor his Ministers, however, knew well what to do; "New England," says Evelyn, "appearing to be very independent as to their regard to Old England or to his Majesty, for the condition of that colony was such that there was fear of their breaking from all dependence on this nation."¹

Massachusetts was, indeed, very much in the position of the children of Israel when they "waxed fat and kicked." For forty years that and the other colonies of New England had gradually grown in strength and importance. With the exception of an

¹ Evelyn, *Diary*.

occasional outbreak of the Indians, they had enjoyed profound peace, and under its reign the wonderful resources of the country of which they had taken possession had been developed till it laughed with increase. The dense forests had been penetrated and cleared for leagues, the fields had been plowed and sown, agriculture prospered and commerce thrived. The Navigation Act was as though it had not been, so systematically was it disregarded. In 1673, New England, we are told, counted 120,000 souls. Five thousand of them were merchants and planters, every man of them worth £3000.¹ Three-fourths of this wealth centred in Massachusetts. Boston was already a good-sized town, with a printing-press, with most of the conveniences and many of the elegancies of old-world life. Towns and villages had sprung up on every side, in attestation of the free and vigorous life that prevailed—the freer and lustier because of the extension of religious freedom which the colonists had been required to grant by Charles. Suddenly, in the midst of this prosperity, a blow fell upon the sister-colonies that brought widespread ruin upon them, and many years of sorrow and tribulation.

When the Pilgrim Fathers first landed on the New England shores the most powerful Indian chief had received them kindly, and entered into an alliance with them. When he died his two sons desired to continue the friendship, and even went to Plymouth to receive, at their own request, the names

¹ Graham.

of Alexander and Philip. After the death of the elder brother, which took place before very long, Philip began to meditate a war of extermination against the whites, of whose growing numbers and prosperity he became extremely jealous. At first the Plymouth people underrated the danger, and were content with remonstrance. Meanwhile the Indian, secretly maturing his plot, hoodwinked them with professions of friendship and good-will, until, everything being ready, he threw off all disguise, and prepared to take the field.

Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut, when they saw it was impossible to bring Philip to terms by peaceable means, resorted to arms in self-defence, and hostilities commenced. The war was long and bloody. It proved, indeed, the most formidable of the contests which had up to that time taken place between the settlers and the aborigines. It was carried on by the Indians in their usual fashion—by stealthy marches upon unprotected places, by ambuscades, by murder, rapine, and conflagration. Whole towns and villages were destroyed, neither age nor sex being spared. The settlers paid back as they received; and it was rare if they did not better their instruction in this ghastly form of warfare. After the slaughter had continued for some months, the Indians, decimated by the sword, by fire, famine, and pestilence, were willing to come to terms, and peace was concluded (1677). The effects of the war were terrible, and it was years before the wounds were healed. Three thousand Indians had been killed, while the colonists mourned the loss of

six hundred brothers, sons, and fathers, whose lives had been sacrificed in the strife, besides entire families that had been massacred in cold blood.

This dire trouble, however, was only the beginning of the chapter. The colonists had shown such unwonted independence and self-reliance in their conflict with the natives, fighting it out to the bitter end without once deigning to ask for assistance from home, that the people at the head of affairs in London were not over-well pleased. They seemed to be getting out of childhood and leading-strings, these colonists. The next thing that Massachusetts heard, therefore, was that she was required to send an agent to England to answer for the possession of Maine and New Hampshire. The cause came up for trial before the English courts, and as it was seen that Gorges would gain the day, the colony hastened to purchase his right before a verdict could be given. Mason's title to New Hampshire was declared invalid, and though he was allowed the still unsettled lands, that colony was declared a Royal province.¹ New Hampshire, however, had no intention of being disposed of in such a fashion, and after passing a resolution declaring "no act valid unless made by the Assembly and approved of by the people," the colony again attached itself to Massachusetts.

This act of contumacy further increased Charles's anger, and the embroilment between his Government and the colony became more and more serious. To make matters worse, the English merchants and

¹ Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*.

traders complained bitterly of the colonists' utter disregard of the Navigation Act. A commission sent over by Charles to inquire into the state of the country returned with a formidable list of grievances, including the complaints of the Quakers in respect to the civil disabilities enforced against them. The case against Massachusetts was very black; but though a writ of *quo warranto* was threatened, the colonists, like Israel of old, remained as stiff-necked as ever. Finally, they outdid themselves in effrontery, entertaining such a low opinion of the Stuarts, and of Charles II. in particular, that they endeavoured to bribe him. The King answered with his *quo warranto* (October, 1683); and in the following year judgment was given against the Governor and Company of Massachusetts, "that their letters patent and the emoluments thereof be cancelled."

Though the loss of their charter was a terrible blow to the colonists, it cannot be denied that they had brought the evil upon themselves. Stimulated by their religion, or their non-religion, they seem to have lost all sense of reason and fair-dealing. Still, they did not deserve the harsh treatment that Charles meted out to them. A Governor with the most arbitrary power was appointed over Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, and New Plymouth; but before he could move to take up his post, King Charles was no more. On the accession of James II., a make-shift Government was appointed until a permanent Governor could be sent off. This official, in the person of Sir Edmund Andros, arrived in December, 1686. His powers were entirely arbitrary, and he used

them arbitrarily. Rhode Island and Connecticut, although both had been granted charters by Charles II., and enjoyed a more uncurbed freedom than all



THE REV. INCREASE MATHER.

the colonies, were included under the same tyrannous *régime*.

The administration of Andros became at length so unbearable that, in 1688, the colony sent the Rev. Increase Mather, the most famous minister of Bos-

ton, to plead with the King for more considerate treatment. But though he granted their request that their freeholds should be respected, James would not hear of any levying of taxes by consent of a General Assembly. Having deprived New England of her freedom, he next proceeded to dish up the proprietary colonies in the same sauce; his plan being to unite the lot, from the Delaware to Nova Scotia, into one province, in order that they might be the "more terrible to the French," who at this time were becoming a very threatening entity to these northern colonists. Never had things looked quite so dark to New England as at this period. But, fortunately, light was at hand. The evil that is felt by one is not felt by him alone. No sooner did the news reach Boston of the landing of the Prince of Orange at Torbay than the people flew to arms and threw Governor Andros with fifty of his colleagues into prison. An Assembly of representatives was convened, and the old constitution restored. The other New England colonies followed the example of Massachusetts.

William III. did not see things quite in the same light as the colonists, and when the war which had broken out between England and France allowed him to take the matter into his consideration, he curtailed the liberty enjoyed by the settlements under their old charters. By the new arrangement which he made for their Government, Massachusetts, Maine, Acadia, and Nova Scotia were united under one jurisdiction; New Hampshire was constituted a province by itself; while Rhode Island and Connect-

icut were allowed to resume their old charter rights. Massachusetts was highly indignant at the curtailment of her liberties to such an extent that the King could put his veto on everything. William was wise enough, however, to see that he had gone a little too far in the repression of a high-spirited, if sometimes misguided people, and therefore granted to them the privilege of appointing their own Governor. This concession produced so good an effect that it brought the people round to the kindly acceptance of the charter of 1692.

The closing years of the century were marked by troubles of the most desolating and degrading description. The Indians and the French combined kept the frontiers in a constant state of terror and alarm. The drains upon the colonists in taxes and men for self-defence became constant and burdensome. Possibly these troubles and fears, joined to their gloomy religious notions, tended slightly to unhinge the public mind. Such is the kindest explanation of the frenzy of unreason that now broke over the colony, bringing on a reign of terror, the like of which can hardly be matched in any age or country. During the continuance of this delirium of superstition numbers of persons were put to death for witchcraft on the flimsiest pretences. It can be called nothing better than a saturnalia of blood-lust and unreason. Persons of the most unblemished character were condemned and sent to the gallows on evidence that, in sane minds, would not have given the whip to a dog. No one was safe. Perhaps it was this very fact that, as much as

anything, in the end led to the daybreak of sanity and reason.

It is said¹ that these frightful judicial murders so disgusted the untutored savages with the Protestant religion that it became an easy matter for the French to win them to their alliance. And no wonder! They were thus induced to recommence hostilities against the colonists, who, degraded in their own eyes, and torn with internal discord, were in no fit condition to cope with their foes, who were in consequence enabled to recapture Acadia and Port Royal, as well as to obtain possession of a fort raised by the Governor at great cost to protect the settlements. At length, however, in 1697, they were awakened out of the stupor into which they had fallen by the news of preparations that were being made by the French for the complete subjugation of the colony. Instantly there was a revival of the old Anglo-Saxon spirit. Party feeling, religious bias, and dissensions of every kind were forgotten in the need of the hour. With an English energy that, when roused, none can excel, the militia was called out and every stronghold put in a defensible position. Then, learning that a large body of Indians was marching to join the French, a strong force was despatched to intercept them; and this they did with so effectual a defeat and slaughter that the proposed invasion did not take place. The Peace of Ryswick soon after (1698) freed the colony from all fear of the French and their native allies for some years.

¹ *A Popular History of America.*

Reference has been made to Lord Baltimore's Catholic colony in Newfoundland. It was followed ere long by another, consisting of Irishmen, which was planted by Lord Falkland, the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. Another party of Irish settlers succeeded this one, in 1654, under the conduct of Sir David Kirk. But, notwithstanding the fact that the island now numbered a resident population of three hundred and fifty families, in fifteen distinct settlements, there was no settled jurisdiction or government of any kind.

Besides the settlers proper, there was in the summer time a floating population of several thousands, consisting of persons of all nations who came thither for the codfishing. This cosmopolitan hoard conceived that it would be to their disadvantage if the island became regularly settled by Englishmen and under an orderly government, and therefore opposed with all their might everything tending to that end. The greatest confusion and even discord obtained. Traders and fishers alike conspired to drive out the settlers; and as there was hardly any pretence of government, they resorted to the most lawless means to compass their ends. Since the people of these islands had now thoroughly taken to colonising, however, there was no stopping their swarms. Hence, in spite of difficulties of every kind, and even of lawlessness, the Newfoundland settlements grew year by year. "As they were made scarcely of any account by the Government," says Pedley in his *History*, "they grew up without authoritative regulations, each man being a law to himself, and

doing what seemed good in his own eyes.”¹ In 1667 they asked Charles II. to send them a Governor, and to provide them with some sort of legislative machinery for their government and well-being; but the “Merry Monarch” appears to have vouchsafed them no answer. Matters growing worse instead of better, another petition was forwarded to the King in 1674. This time the Lords of the Committee for Trade and Plantations informed them that all settlements in Newfoundland were objectionable, and that “if they were not satisfied with their position they had better come home.”

It was even in contemplation forcibly to put an end to these plantations; and Sir John Berry was sent out “with orders for the deportation of the settlers, the destruction of their houses, and, in fact, the entire uprooting of the thriving colony which had been reared at the heavy cost of the energies, treasure, and life-blood of several of England’s bravest sons.”² Although this inhuman command was not carried out, nothing was done towards giving the colonists the recognition and protection they had sought from the Crown. They were, indeed, left just as they were, with the threat of extermination hanging over them. That threat was withdrawn in 1676; but strict injunctions were issued by the King prohibiting the conveyance of any further emigrants to the island.

Such is a sample of the unwise way these Stuarts had of thwarting and checking a “live” people,

¹ *History of Newfoundland.*

² Montgomery Martin, *The British Colonies.*

over whom they held that Providence had given them a Divine right to rule. Thus matters went on, the colony growing in strength and importance, in spite of opposition and anarchy, until the last Stuart had vacated an uneasy throne, when, by the wise statute of William III., which is regarded as the first charter of Newfoundland liberties, a new and brighter state of affairs was inaugurated.

It remains to record the doings of British pluck and energy in a region still farther north than Newfoundland. Many years elapsed before any practical effect was given to the discoveries of Hudson in the region of North America still named after him. But in 1668 Prince Rupert sent out an expedition consisting of one vessel to found a settlement in Hudson's Bay, and thus to turn to advantage the vast territories which ever since their discovery had nominally belonged to the British Crown. Success attended the efforts of the little colony; and two years later the Hudson's Bay Company was formed, with Prince Rupert at its head, for the exploration of the country and the development of its resources.

The region which Charles II. thus disposed of by a stroke of the pen comprised, according to the Company's charter, "all lands and territories upon the countries, coasts, and confines of the seas, bays, lakes, rivers, creeks, and sounds, in whatsoever latitude they shall be, that lie within the entrance of the straits, commonly called Hudson's Straits, that are not already actually possessed by the subjects of any other Christian Prince or State." The region

thus given away, and known as Prince Rupert's Land, or the Hudson's Bay Territory, embraced an extent of more than three million square miles of land, an area nearly half as large as that of Russia, and thrice as large as that of India.

To the Company was also granted "the whole and entire trade and traffic to and from all havens, bays, creeks, rivers, lakes, and seas into which they shall find entrance or passage, by water or land, out of the territories, limits, and places aforesaid, and to and with all the natives and people inhabiting, or which shall inhabit, within the territories, limits, and places aforesaid, and to and with all other nations inhabiting any of the coasts adjacent to the said territories, limits, and places which are not already possessed as aforesaid, or whereof the sole liberty and traffic is not granted to any other of our subjects."¹

Though the Company's resources were out of all proportion to the vastness of the territory over which it ruled, it pursued its business with such diligence and energy that its profits on the year's trade sometimes amounted to fifty per cent. At first it had but a single settlement, situated on Rupert River, near the southern corner of Hudson's Bay; but stations and factories were gradually pushed out in all directions, in order to facilitate trade with the Indians and white hunters and trappers in furs and peltries of every description, which formed almost the exclusive staple of the country. It was not all plain sailing with the Company's affairs, however;

¹ Anderson, *History of Commerce*.

like the colonists of New England and the settlers of Newfoundland, they had to reckon with the hostility of the French, who, established firmly in Canada, laid claim to, and resolved to make themselves the exclusive masters of, all those regions. Again and again, beginning with 1682, expeditions were sent out from Quebec against the Company's forts; sometimes they were successful, more often they were not; but the watchfulness of the enemy was incessant until 1697, when, by the treaty of Ryswick, part of the territory was ceded to the French. It did not long remain in their hands, however, the treaty of Utrecht (1713) restoring the ceded districts to the Hudson's Bay Company, after which its progress was steady and continuous, if not brilliant.

There is little more to be added to this record of growth and extension during the seventeenth century, and that little concerns the small footholds which the English had as yet obtained upon the continent of Africa. As we have seen, English traders had been making yearly voyages to Guinea since early in the sixteenth century, the way thither being pointed out to them by the Portuguese, who had gained a footing on the Gold Coast some time before the discovery of America by Columbus, and who, as many years had passed after the Spaniards had commenced their career of conquest and extermination in the New World, were doing a profitable business by carrying negroes from the slave coast to Brazil and the Spanish colonies. According to Macculloch, this traffic in slaves had been prosecuted

in a small way so far back as 1442. The early voyages of the English to Guinea, however, were not for slaves, but for palm oil, gum, ivory, grain, and gold. The reports of the enormous wealth of the interior in the precious metal attracted no end of adventurers to this coast, not only English, but French, Dutch, Danes, and Brandenburgers. The first English settlement on this coast dates from 1664; but many years prior to that Englishmen had distinguished themselves as explorers and pioneers of trade.

Among the more brilliant episodes of this character were the explorations made up the Gambia River by Thompson and Jobson, who were sent out by a Company of Gentlemen Adventurers of London. The first-named sailed in 1618 in the *Catherine*, with instructions to proceed up the Niger to Timbuctoo, respecting whose enormous wealth tantalising accounts had recently reached Europe. Supposing the Gambia to be the outfall of the Niger, Thompson, leaving his ship at the mouth of the river, ascended the stream in his pinnace as high as Tenda. On his return to where he had left his ship, he found that it had been seized by the Portuguese and natives. Nothing daunted, he sent letters to his Company, informing them of his doings, and asking for fresh supplies, and then reascended the river to Tenda, where he was killed. The ship sent out with new supplies only took back the intelligence of his death, whereupon the Company fitted out a third expedition, under the command of Richard Jobson. From the point of view of trade

this worthy's voyage was a failure; for although he reached Tenda, and brought home a wonderful account of all he had seen and done, he had not found Timbuctoo, the African El Dorado, nor, indeed, brought with him any of the fabled hoards of gold of those regions. Hence he appears not to have been sent out a second time. But though he did not satisfy the commercial cravings of the Gentlemen Adventurers of the countries of Guinea and Benin, Jobson left one of the most interesting records of African travel and adventure that can be read anywhere.¹

The way, however, which he and Thompson opened up was not allowed to be forgotten; others followed in their wake; traders went to and fro; stations and factories were established, afterwards, often enough, to be either abandoned or lost; but very little of a permanent character was done during the seventeenth century. Possibly the record might have been brighter but for the curse of the slave trade, in which all engaged, and wherein none appeared to see any wrong; although between 1680 and 1700, when it was coming into its most flourishing state, the British colonies vying with the Spaniards and Portuguese in the number of slaves they bought, the English conveyed no fewer than 300,000 slaves out of Africa.

Such is the record of growth towards empire during the century of the Stuarts—a record which is sufficiently astonishing when we consider what an unsettled and harassing time it was. Although at

¹ *The Golden Trade* (1623); Purchas, *Pilgrims*, Part II.

the beginning of the period England cannot be said to have possessed a single rood of settled earth outside the British Isles, the beginning of the eighteenth century saw her foot planted on three continents, and her ships, laden with merchandise, ploughing every sea. We have seen something of what the Navy was, and what it could do during the Commonwealth and the subsequent reign. It is to the credit of the Stuarts that they ever had an eye to the importance of that symbol and palladium of England's greatness. Although, when he came to the throne, Charles II. found the Navy to comprise but sixty-three vessels of all sizes, by 1678 he had increased it to eighty-three ships, and there were thirty more in course of construction. During the latter part of his reign the Navy fell somewhat into decay; but James II., soon after his accession, restored it to its former strength, and before he left the throne carried it much further, the fleet of the Restoration consisting of 173 vessels of all sizes, and requiring 42,000 seamen to man it.¹ The art of ship-building also had greatly progressed, vessels now being built of much larger dimensions than formerly; the *Britannia*, built in 1682, and considered the finest ship of the age, measuring 1739 tons and carrying 100 guns.

At no period, says Hume, did English commerce and riches increase so fast as from the Restoration to the Revolution. The two Dutch wars, by disturbing the trade of that Republic, tended to promote the interests of commerce in these islands, and

¹ Hume.

after Charles had made a separate peace with the States, the English enjoyed, unmolested, the trade



JAMES II.

of Europe. Davenant affirms that during the twenty-eight years of the reigns of Charles II. and

James II. the shipping of England was more than doubled. It was, however, still far below that of Holland, although not much inferior to all the rest of Europe exclusive of that country; English shipping being estimated at 500,000 tons, while that of the Netherlands was 900,000 tons. Incidentally, too, we learn that there were in 1688 more men on 'Change worth ten thousand pounds than there had been in 1650 worth a thousand.

This increase of wealth was almost the exclusive result of the nation's progress in navigation and commerce; the era of manufacturing prosperity coming nearly a century later, when by mechanical discoveries and inventions an enormous impulse was given to our great staple manufactures in cotton, linen, and woollen. However, during the period under review several new industries were introduced, one of them being that of dyeing woollen cloth, which was brought over from the Netherlands, when they were threatened with conquest by France. The increased use of coal for fuel, the establishment of the post-office, and the passing, in 1661, of an act for the erection of turnpikes, likewise tended greatly to facilitate the extension of home industries.

It need hardly be said that the determined fight for liberty which the nation waged against the Crown during the Stuart period had resulted in giving such an ascendancy to popular principles as to put the nature of the British constitution forever beyond dispute. The Revolution of 1688, however, can hardly be regarded in the light of a popular movement. It was effected almost en-

tirely by the upper classes in combination with the Church, and to them fell the chief benefits accruing from it. Its one advantage to the people was that it brought them a step nearer to the goal of political power.



SEAL OF THE DUKE OF YORK (JAMES II.) AS ADMIRAL OF THE FLEET.



INDEX.

A

Acadia, 370
 Aden, 245
 Agra, 202
 Ahmedabad, 246
 Ajmere, 250
 Akbar, 195, 248
 Albany, 324
 Aleppo, 192, 194, 195
 Alexander, Sir William, 319
 Algiers, 341
 Algonquins, 237
 Allahabad, 195
 Alonzo de Leyva, 131, 138, 146
 Amadas, Philip, 102
 Amboyna, massacre of, 341
 America, discovery of, 5, 8
 Amsterdam, 202
 Andros, Sir Edmund, 366, 367
 Annapolis, 235
 Ann, Cape, 186, 279
 Antigua, 300
 Antinomian controversy, 322
 Antwerp, 202
 Argall, 238, 324
 Arica, 82
 Arioncopang, 62
Ark, 137, 152
 Armada, Invincible, 41, 61, 115,
 124, 128-159
 Armegum, 254
 Asia, 193, 245
 Assassins, 160
 Aurengzebe, 353
 Ayscue, Sir George, 302, 336
 Azim Ooshaun, 355
 Azores, 128, 164, 165, 186

B

Bacon, Sir Francis, 161, 205
 Badajoz, Marquis of, 343
 Bagdad, 194
 Bahamas, 305
 Baker, Robert, 44
 Balasor, 353
 Baltimore, Lord (Sir George Cal-
 vert), 269, 274
 Bantam, 205, 333, 345
 Barative, 88
 Barbadoes, 276, 297, 299, 304
 Barlow, Arthur, 102
 Barque *Raleigh*, 97
 Barton, Sir Andrew, 29
 Baskerville, Sir Thomas, 171
 Bassorah, 194, 195
 Bastimentos, 65
 Battle of Lowestoft, 347
 — North Foreland, 348
 — San Mateo, 177
Bear, 146
 Bell, Governor, 300
 Bengal, 332
 Benin, coast, 377
 Berkeley, Sir John, 174
 Biddeford, 321
 Bir, 194, 195
 Biscayans, 9
 Blake, Admiral, 334
 Bloodhounds in West Indies, 307
 Board of Trade, 244
 Bodenham, Captain, 192
 Bokhara, 192
 Bombay, 347
 Book of Common Prayer, 362

Boston, 324, 363
 Boughton, Surgeon, 332
 Brabant, 24
 Bradford, William, 206
 Bradshaw, Robert, 197
 Brahmaputra River, 247
 Brazil, 79, 118
Britannia, 378
 Brook, Lord, 292
 Brownists, 258
 Bruges, 202
 Buccaneers, 297, 308-313
 Burcher's Island, 72
 Buzzard Bay, 187, 189

C

Cabot, John and Sebastian, 5-8,
 32, 75, 94
 Cacafuego, 82
 Cadiz, 19, 44, 128
 Calais, 12, 150, 152
 Calcutta, 355
 Callao, 82
 Calvert, Charles, 274
 — Leonard, 217
 — Sir George (Lord Baltimore),
 269
 Cambay, gulf of, 245
 Cape Ann, 186, 279
 — Blanco, 79
 — Breton, 319
 — Breton Isle, 99
 — Cod, 146, 256
 — Corse, 347
 — Farewell, 71
 — Fear, 276
 — Florida, 68
 — Good Hope, 85, 89, 123, 191,
 198, 200
 — Henlopen, 329
 — Horn, 82
 — Sable, 319
 — Verde Islands, 46, 79, 109
 Capul, island of, 123
 Caribbean Sea, 299, 300
 Carlett, David, 46
 Carlile, Christopher, 109
 Carolina, 274
 Carthagena, 53, 110

Cartier, Jacques, 234
 Carver, Mr., 260
 Cascaes, 164
 Casco Bay, 189
 Caspian Sea, 192
 Castile, 131
 Cataclysm in Jamaica, 317
 Catherine of Braganza, 347
 Catholics, English, 127, 133
 Cat Island, 305
 Cavendish, Sir Thomas, 117, 124,
 125, 126, 177, 198
 Cellini, 17
 Ceylon, 195, 199
 Chagre River, 314
 Chalong, 216
 Champlain, Samuel, 235, 237, 320
 Chancellor, Richard, 32
 Chapman, 161
 Charles I., 358
 Charles II., 274, 347, 362
 Charlestown, 277
 Chesapeake Bay, 184
 —, river, 217, 256
 Chickahominy, river, 221
 Chili, 120
 China, 191, 198
 Chios, 192
 Chittagong, 352, 353
 Chowah, river, 274
 Chutanutte, 352, 355
 Cimaroons, 67, 68
 Coal, 380
 Cochin, 195
 Cod-fishery, 371
 Colbert, 350
 Colonisation, British, 181
 Columbus, Christopher, 77
 Commerce, 37, 41, 190, 191, 332
 Comoro Islands, 199
 Company of Gentlemen Adven-
 turers, 376
 Connecticut, 290, 360, 364, 367
 —, river, 366
 Cook, Captain, 77
 Cooper, river, 277
 Coromandel, coast, 254, 355
 Corrientes, Cape, 199
 Corsairs, 196
 Corunna, 129, 163

Cossimbuzar, 253
 Council of Assistants, 284
 Courteen, Sir William, 297
 Crab Island, 86
 Croatoan, island of, 181, 183
 Cromwell, Oliver, 274, 307, 319,
 332, 341, 344
 Cruces, island of, 314
 Cumberland, Earl of, 164, 174
 — Strait, 112
 Cuttyhunk, island of, 187

D

Dainty, 177
 Dale, Sir Thomas, 230, 232
 Danes, 254
 Darien, Gulf of, 64
 —, Isthmus of, 172
 Davis, John, 113, 176
 Dean, 339
 Deccan, 195, 247
 Delaware Colony, 329
 —, Lord, 226
 —, river, 326
 Delhi, 249
Delight, 98, 100
 De Ruyter, Admiral, 326, 336,
 339, 347
 Descent on Cadiz, 173
 De Valdez, Diego, 132
 —, Pedro, 132, 141, 142
 Diego de Pimental, 158
 Dominica, island of, 110, 171,
 175
 Don Antonio of Portugal, 164
 — Baltran de Castro, 178
 — Francisco de Cerate, 78, 85
 Doria André, 197
 Dover, 323
 D'Oyley, Colonel, 313
 Drake, John, 66
 —, Sir Francis, 51, 52, 58, 75,
 77, 94, 126, 130, 137
 Dudley, Lord Robert, 45, 200
 Duke of York, 327, 329
 Dundonald, 134
 Dunkirk, 129, 151

Dutch, 203, 250, 292, 324, 332,
 348
 — East India Company, 324-341
 — Traders, 291
 — West India Company, 326
 Dwina, river, 192

E

East Indies, 203, 245
 East India Company (British), 62-
 203, 204, 245, 332, 341, 350,
 356
 Eastern Seas, 204
 Eddystone Lighthouse, 138
 Edward VI., 14
 El Dorado, 178, 242
 Eldred, J., 194
 Elizabeth, Queen, 4, 10, 12, 15,
 40, 42, 76, 128, 132, 160,
 163, 177, 178, 188, 205
 Emigration, 358
 Endicott, Governor, 281
 Esquemelin, 313
 Esquimaux, 72, 74
 Essex, Earl of, 75, 172
 Euphrates valley, 194
 Exeter, 332

F

Falkland Islands, 175
 —, Lord, 371
 Felejah, 194
 Fenner, George, 49, 147
 Ferdinand and Isabella, 22
 Ferrol, 132
 Fire-ships, 151
 Fishing-trade, 27
 Fitch, Ralph, 194, 198
 Flanders, 24, 128
 Flores, 165, 174
 Flushing, 156
 Fort St. David, 355
 — St. George, 255, 333, 345
 France, 1
 Freebooters, 129, 200
 French, 1, 368, 369, 370
 — East India Company, 350
 — Protestants, 276

Frobisher's Bay, 74, 94, 136, 165
 Frobisher, Martin, 74, 94, 109,
 137, 139
 Fur trade, 273

G

Gambia, river, 376
 Ganges, 247
 Ganish, Robert, 35, 42
 Gaspard de Cortereal, 95
 Ghâts, East and West, 247
 Gibraltar, Straits of, 196
 Gilbert, Sir Bartholomew, 184
 —, Sir Humphrey, 95, 101
 —, Sir John, 256
 Gilbert's Island, 112
 Goa, 195
 Gogo, 246, 249
 Golconda, 195
 Golden Gate, 85
 — Hind, 80, 85
 Gombroon, 254
 Gorges, Sir Ferdinand, 256, 319,
 321
 Gosnold, Bartholomew, 184, 188,
 217, 220
 Govindpore, 355
 Gravelines, 153
Great Harry, 29
 Greek Archipelago, 191
 Greenland, 71, 112
 Grenville, Sir Richard, 103, 111,
 114, 167, 168
 Gresham, Sir Thomas, 202
 Guiana, 179, 242
 Guinea, 33, 34, 36, 44, 49, 52,
 376
 Gulf of Florida, 48
 Gunners, English, 139
 Gutenberg, 11

H

Hakluyt, Richard, 44, 189, 195,
 214
 Hampden, John, 319
 Hampton, Thomas, 43
 Hampton, 323
 Hanseatic Towns, 10, 37

Harriot, Thomas, 103, 105, 114
 Hartop, 56, 58
 Harvey, Governor (of Virginia),
 272
 Haslerig, Sir Arthur, 319
 Hastings, battle of, 127
 Hatorask, harbour, 180, 182
 Hatton, Sir Christopher, 76, 205
 Havre, 147
 Hawkins, Sir John, 42-59, 164
 —, Richard, 177, 178
 —, William, 33, 34, 42
 Haynes, Edward, 100
 Heath, Captain, 353
Henri Grace à Dieu, 31
 Henry IV. (of France), 172
 — VII. (of England), 5, 10
 — VIII. (of England), 17, 127
 Himalaya Mountains, 246
 Hindus, 248
 Hispaniola, 43, 309
 Holy League, 129
 Howard, Lord Thomas, 166
 —, of Effingham, 137-142, 173
 —, Sir Edward, 30
 Hudson's Bay, 373
 — Company, 373
 Hudson, Henry, 75, 238, 324
Hugh Gallant, 119, 120
 Hugli, 352, 353
 Huguenots, 39
 Hunsdon, Lord, 126
 Hutchinson, Anne, 288

I

Iceland, 28
 India, 188, 193, 198, 333
 Indus, river, 247
 Inquisition, Spanish, 178
 Insurance, 38
 Ireland, 12, 72, 163, 179
 Irish Catholic colony in New-
 foundland, 371
 Iroquois, 237
 Ivan the Terrible, 33

J

Jamaica, 300, 307, 316, 343
 —, population of, 308

James IV. (of Scotland and I. of England), 30, 213, 242

— II., 366

— River, 224

Jamestown, 218, 222, 240

— (in Barbadoes), 298

Jask, 253

Java, 123, 205

Jenkinson, Anthony, 192, 193

Jobson, 376

Jonson, Benjamin, 162

Juan Martinez de Recalde, 131

Jumna, river, 195, 247

K

Kennebec, river, 321

L

Labrador, 6, 94

Laconia, 321

Ladrilleros, 80

Ladrone Islands, 123

Lahore, 195

La Mina, 44

Lancaster, James, 198, 204

Landing of Prince of Orange, 368

Lane, Sir Ralph, 103

Leeward Isles, 304

Leicester, Earl of, 132, 205

Letters of Marque, 39

Levant, 77, 191

— Company, 192, 193

Lion, 29, 30, 146

Lisbon, 129, 164

Literature, 161

Locke, John, 276

Lok, John and Thomas, 35, 42, 71

London Company, 215, 216

Long Island, 347

Lord Leigh, 298

Lords of Committee for Trade and Plantations, 372

Lovelace, Governor, 326

Loyasa, 80

Luzon, 123

M

Mace, Samuel, 184

Madagascar, 199

Madras, 255

Magellan, 80, 91, 125

—, Strait of, 80, 89, 109-118, 204

Maine, 189, 216, 322, 361

Malabar Coast, 199

Malacca, 195

—, Strait of, 205

Malice Scourge, 174

Manhattan, 324

Manila, 124

Manufactures:

Lace, woollen, pewter, 26

Paper, satin, silk, fustians, etc., 25

Steel, cutlery, hardware, 27

Woollens, linens, cotton, dyeing, 380

Marlow, 62

Maroons, 307, 317

Martha's Vineyard, 187

Martinez de Recalde, 138, 139, 140

Maryland, 269

Mary, Queen, 2, 127

— Stuart, 12, 127

Mason, Captain, 319, 321, 365

Massachusetts Bay, 186, 263, 278, 295, 323, 360, 361

— Bay Company, 358

Masulipatam, 254, 353

Mather, Rev. Increase, 367

Mayflower, 260

Medina Sidonia, Duke of, 130, 131, 137, 138

Mercantile marine, 190

Merchant adventurers, 255, 345

Merrick, Andrew, 175

Merrimac, river, 321

Meta Incognita, 74

Mexico, 64

Middleton, Sir Henry, 245

Miguel de Oquendo, 131, 140

Mildenhall, Sir John, 203

Minion, 197

Mistick, river, 295

Mocha, 245
 Mogador, 79
 Mogul, 203, 246, 249, 353
 Mohegans, 295
 Moluccas, 86, 126, 245
 Mona, island of, 200
 Monehgan Islands, 321
 Monk, 338, 348
 Mont-Real, 235
 Montserrat, island of, 300
 Morgan, Captain Henry, 313
 Moscow, 193
 Mount Raleigh, 112
 Muscovy (or Russia) Company,
 33, 192, 193

N

Narragansett River, 290
 — Indians, 292, 294
 Naseby, battle of, 127
 Navigation Act, 233, 361
 Navy, 28, 30, 347, 379
 Nawab of Bengal, 352
 Nelson, Admiral, 135
 Netherlands, 24, 38, 202
 Nevis, 300
 New Albion, 85
 — Amsterdam, 324
 — England, 184, 202, 358
 — —, Puritans of, 307
 — Hampshire, 321, 360, 365
 — Haven, 360
 — Jersey, 324, 327
 — Plymouth, 262, 264
 — Providence Island, 309
 — World, 43
 — York, 324, 326
 Newberry, J., 194
 Newcastle, 329
 Newfoundland, 6, 8, 48, 96, 102,
 104
 Newport, Christopher, 216
 Nicholas, St., 192
 Nicholls, Colonel, 326
 Nicholson, Captain, 352
 Niger, river, 376
 Nombre de Dios, 64, 65, 78, 172
 Norris, Sir John, 129, 164
 North Carolina, 233

North Sea, 158
 Northern Passage, 32
 Nova Scotia, 235, 238, 319, 320
 Nuno de Silva, 80, 85

O

Oldham, John, 321
 Opechancanough, 267
 Orinoco, river, 243
 Ormuz, 194
 Ostend, 130
 Overland route to India, 195
 Oxenham, John, 67
 Oxford, Earl of, 251

P

Pacific Ocean, 66, 86, 178
 Pamaquid, point of, 321
 Panama, 65, 66, 67, 171
 Patna, 352
 Payta, 121
 Peace negotiations, 130
 — of Breda, 326, 348-350
 — of Ryswick, 370
 Pegu, 195
 Pelew Islands, 87
 Penn, Admiral, 307, 343
 —, William, 327
 Pennsylvania, 330
 Penobscot, 256
 Pequods (Indians), 291, 292
 Pernambuco, 200
 Persia, 193
 Persian Gulf, 193
 Peru, 64, 120
 Philip of Spain, 14, 24, 44, 49,
 61, 92, 94, 106, 108, 124,
 133, 156, 172
 Philippine Islands, 87, 124, 127
 Pilgrim Fathers, 260, 363
 Pinteado, Antonio, 34
 Piracy, 86
 Piscataqua, river, 323
 Plata Fleet, 165
 Plymouth Company, 216, 257,
 278
 —, council of, 265, 278, 322
 — Sound, 139

Pocahontas, Princess, 222, 224,
230
Point de Galle, 199
Poitiers, 16
Poleroon, island of, 347
Pondicherry, 354
Pope, the, 128
Popham, Sir John, 256
Population, 12
Port Desire, 118
— Famine, 129
— Pleasant, 64
— Royal, 236, 313, 317, 370
— St. Julien, 80
Porto Bello, 65, 173, 347
— Rico, 170, 200
Portsmouth, 323
Portugal, 165, 169, 341
Portuguese, 124, 126, 164, 178,
248, 249
Post Office, 380
Potomac, river, 223
Poutrincourt, De, 236
Powhatan, King, 218, 222, 267
—, river, 218
Prince of Parma, 128-133, 150,
153
— Rupert, 348, 373
Pring, Martin, 189, 260
Privateers, 128, 163, 214, 277
Protestantism, 10, 128
Providence, 288
Pullicat, 254
Pulo Penang, 199
Punjab, 247
Puritans, 258, 264, 279, 385

Q

Quakers, 331, 362, 366
Quebec, 235, 237, 320
Queen Katherine, 127

R

Raleigh, Sir Walter, 95, 101,
111, 114, 166, 167, 178, 183,
188, 242
Rappahannock, 223

Rata Coronada, 131, 138, 139
Ratcliffe, John, 217, 221
Regent, 33
Religious wars, 39
Restoration, 274
Revenge, 137, 166, 167
Rhode Island, 287, 360, 367, 368
Rio de la Hacha, 48, 53, 171
Rio Grande, 46
River Plata, 79
Roanoke, 102, 114, 180
Robinson, John, 259
Roman Catholic colony, 271,
273
Rouse, James, 64
Royal Exchange, 202
Rupert River, 374
Russia, 192
— (or Muscovy) Company, 10,
192, 193

S

Saco, 322
Sagadahock, river, 216, 256, 322
Salem, 281, 286
Salsette, 194
San Filipe, 117, 119
— Juan de Lua, 54, 62
— Lucia, 120
— Martin, 147
— Pablo, 167
Santa Anna, 120
— Cruz, bay of, 344
— —, Marquis of, 128, 229
Santa Martha, 171
Scilly Isles, 132
Scotland, 12
Sea-dogs, 128
Sebastian, King of Portugal, 105
Seekonk, 287
Seymour, Lord Henry, 150
Shah Jehan, 333
Shakespeare, 161
Shipbuilding, 31
Shipping (English and Dutch),
252, 378
Siam, 195

Sierra Leone, 43, 47, 89, 118
 Silva, De, 49
 Slavery in Virginia, 273, 296
 Slave Trade, 36, 42, 49, 372
 Sluys, battle of, 16
 Smith, Captain John, 217, 218,
 220, 256
 Society of London Merchants,
 299
Solomon, 197
 Solyman the Great, 192
 Somers, Sir George, 214, 228
 Sound of Darien, 66
 South America, 53
 — Sea, 175
 Southampton, Earl of, 186
 Spain, 85, 107, 128, 165
 Spanish Commerce, 127, 163
 — Company, 243
 — invasion, 127
 — main, 52
 — West Indian Fleet, 164
Speedwell, 260
 Spencer, 161
 Spice Islands, 250
 Squirrel, 97
 Standish, Miles, 260, 264
 Staynes, Captain, 343
 St. Christopher Island, 109, 297
 St. Domingo, 47, 53, 109, 110,
 307
 St. George's Island, 228
 St. Helena, 124, 200
 St. John, 347
 St. John's River, 48
 St. Lawrence, river, 235, 319
 St. Matteo, river, 274, 275
 St. Thomas, 243
 Sumatra, 205
 Sunderbunds, 247
 Surat, 245, 248, 345, 353
 Surinam, 326
 Surrey, Earl of, 26
 Susquehanna, river, 223
 Sutlej, river, 247
Swallow, 97
 Swally, 246, 249, 345
 Sydney, 85, 86
 —, Sir Philip, 108, 162
 Syria, 191, 194

T

Table Bay, 199
 Tagus, river, 130, 131
 Tanjore, 254
 Tapti, river, 248
 Tegnapatam, 353
 Tenda, 376
 Ternate, 87
 Thompson (explorer), 376
 Tierra Firma, 108
 Tigris, river, 194
 Tilbury, 133
 Tortuga, 309, 312
 Towrson, William, 36, 42
 Trade in West Indies, 304
 Treasure-ships, 164
 Treaty of Breda, 300
 — — St. Germain's, 390
 — — Utrecht, 375
 Trinidad, 200, 242
 Trinity House, 28, 32
 Tripoli, 195
Triumph, 138
 Tromp, Van, 334
 Tufton, Sir William, 299
 Tunis, 242
 Turkey, 192
 — Company, 198, 203
 Turnpikes, 304
 Tzar of Russia, 192

U

Union, 30
 Ushant Cape, 136

V

Valparaiso, 177
 Vane, Sir Henry, 288
 Vasco de Gama, 9
 Vaughan, Lord John, 316
 Vellore, 254
 Venables, General, 307, 343
 Venezuela, 47
 Vera Cruz, 54
 Verrazzano, John, 234
Victory, 137
 Vigo, 164

Vindhya Mountains, 247
 Vines, Richard, 321
 Virginia, 103, 105, 114, 116, 184,
 186, 212, 217, 231, 256, 260
 — Company, 273
 —, Council of, 217
 Vizagapatam, 353

W

Walsingham, Lord, 205
 War in Massachusetts, 364
 — with Holland, 326, 347
 Warner, Sir Thomas, 300
 Wars of the League, 172
 — — — Roses, 4
 Warwick Island, 70
 Western Continent, 107
 West Indies, 49, 64, 164, 169,
 174, 180, 183, 200, 297, 317
 Wheelwright, Rev. W., 322
 White, 179, 181, 182
 —, John, 114
 —, Mr., 280

White Sea, 193
 Wight, Isle of, 64, 147
 Wild oxen, 308
 William III. (Prince of Orange),
 368
 Williams, Roger, 285, 294
 Willoughby, Lord, 155, 301, 304
 — Sir Hugh, 32
 Windward Islands, 304
 Wingfield, Edward Maria, 214,
 218
 Winslow, Edward, 260
 Winter, Captain Sir William, 84,
 136, 150
 Winthrop, William, 284
 Witchcraft, 369
 Witte, Adam de, 336
 Wocokon, 180
 Wyatt, Sir Francis, 267

Y

Yardley, Sir George, 232, 240,
 266





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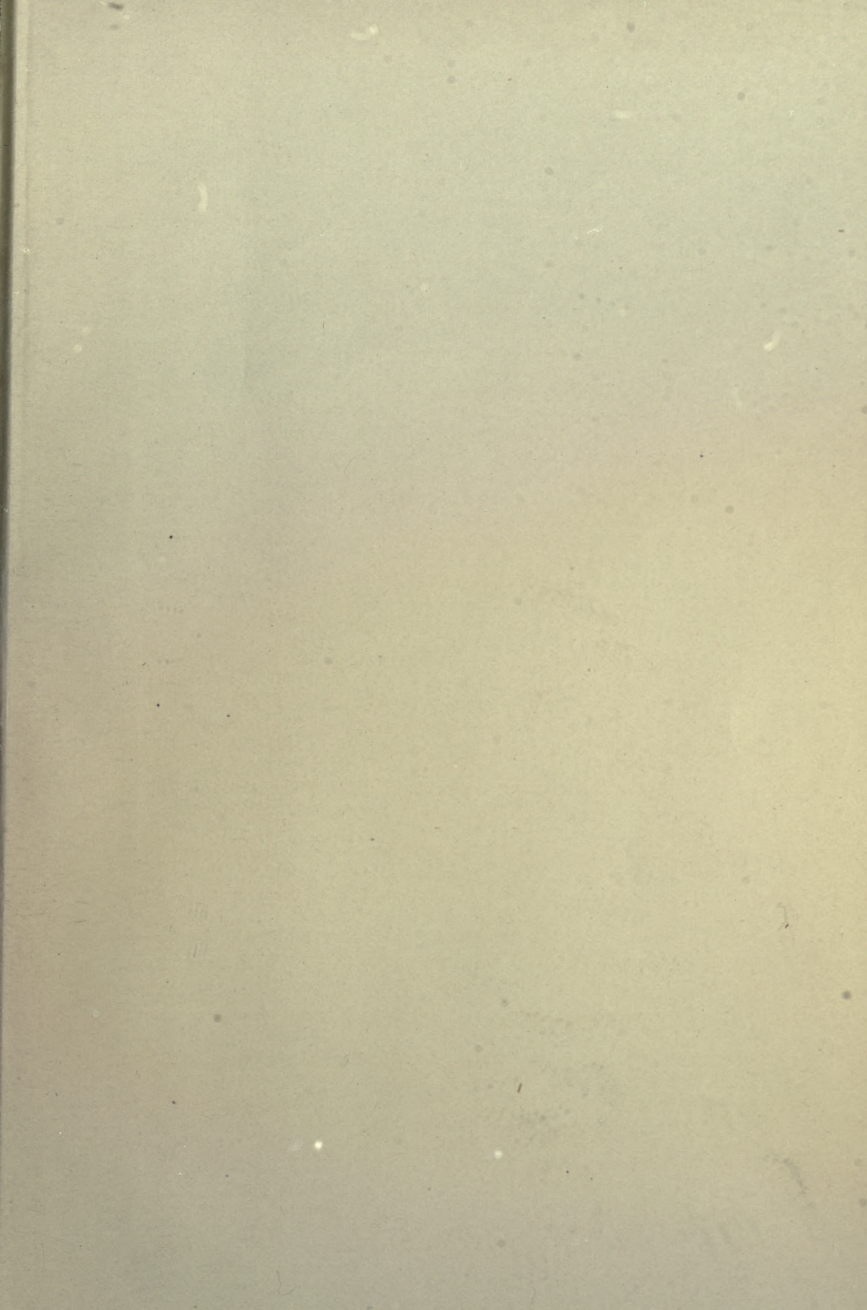
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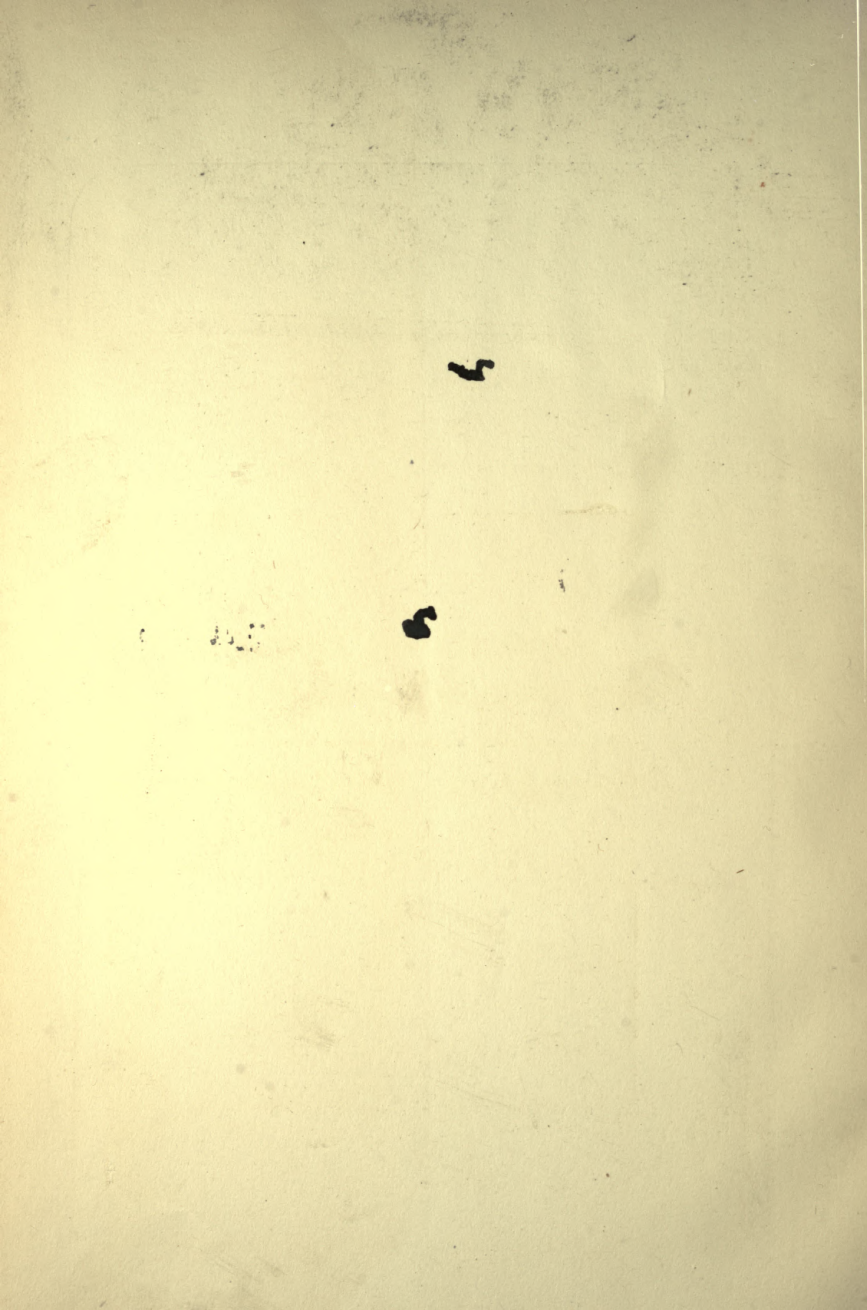
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